Daniel and Revelation Committee Series

Volume 1

Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation

Revised Edition

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Transliteration of Hebrew and Greek Alphabets

Hebrew Alphabet

Consonants

א = *’*
בּ = *b*
ב = *ḇ*
גּ = *g*
ג = *g*
דּ = *d*
ד = *ḏ*
ה = *h*
ו = *w*
ז = *z*
ח = *ḥ*
ט = *ṭ*
י = *y*
כּ = *k*
כ = *ḵ*
ל = *l*
מ = *m*
נ = *n*
ס = *s*
ע = *‘*
פּ = *p*
פ = *p̄*
צ = *ṣ*
ק = *q*
ר = *r*
שׂ = *ś*
שׁ = *š*
תּ = *t*
ת = *ṯ*

Masoretic Vowel Pointings

ַ = *a*
ָ = *ā*
ֲ = *a*
ֶ = *e*
ֵ = *ē*
ְ, ֱ = *e*
ֶי, ֵי = *ê*
ִ = *i*
ִי = *î*
ָ = *o*
ֹ = *ō*
ֳ = *o*
וֹ = *ô*
ֻ = *u*
וּ = *û*

Greek Alphabet

α = *a*
β = *b*
γ = *g*
δ = *d*
ε = *e*
ζ = *z*
η = *ē*
θ = *th*
ι = *i*
κ = *k*
λ = *l*
μ = *m*
ν = *n*
ξ = *x*
ο = *o*
π = *p*
ρ = *r*
σ = *s*
τ = *t*
υ = *u*
φ = *ph*
χ = *ch*
ψ = *ps*
ω = *ō*
῾ = *h*

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments
Transliteration
To the Reader

I. **Biblical Parallels for the Investigative Judgment**

II. **Why Antiochus IV Is Not the Little Horn of Daniel 8**

III. **Year-Day Principle—Part 1**

IV. **Year-Day Principle—Part 2**

V. **Judgment in Daniel 7**

VI. **Pictures of Jesus at the Heart of Daniel**

VII. **Day of Atonement and October22, 1844**

Index

To the Reader

It is sometimes asked, "What is a Seventh-day Adventist?" A common reply is, "A Seventh-day Adventist is a Christian who observes the seventh-day Sabbath and who is preparing for the Saviour's second coming." But the perspective is larger than this.

A more significant frame that holds together the picture of biblical truth as taught by Seventh-day Adventists is their understanding of the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. In these prophecies the Adventist people have found their times, their identity, and their task.

Adventists arrived at their interpretations of Bible prophecy by employing the principles of the historical "school" of prophetic interpretation. The historicist view (also known as the "continuous-historical" view) sees the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation unfolding in historical time from the days of these respective prophets until the establishment of God's eternal kingdom. As their immediate forebearers, the Millerites were historicists, which also is true of the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

Reformation preaching of the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel and Revelation had a telling affect on Europe. It tended to center on the Christian apostasy which had arisen within Christendom whom the Reformers saw symbolized in the little horn (Dan 7), the leopard beast (Rev 13), and the woman seated on the scarlet beast (Rev 17).

In the late sixteenth century Counter-Reformation, Rome, rising to the challenge, sought to divert the thrust of these applications. The result was argumentation for what would become two distinct but diverse methods of prophetic interpretation: the futurist and preterist systems.

The futurist system wipes the Christian Era clean of prophetic significance by removing the bulk of the prophecies of Revelation (and certain aspects of Daniel) to the end of the age for their fulfillment. The preterist system accomplishes the same objective by relegating the prophecies of both books to the past. Revelation is not allowed to extend farther than the sixth century A.D.

With the passage of time these distinctive counter-interpretations began to penetrate Protestant thought. Preterism was the first to enter in the late eighteenth century. Preterist interpretations of the prophecies have now become the standard view of liberal Protestantism. Futurism took root in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It has since developed into the system of interpretation currently followed by most conservative Protestants.

Today Seventh-day Adventists stand virtually alone as exponents of the historicist principles of prophetic interpretation. Recent events suggest that the Counter-Reformation—though delayed—is now knocking on the Adventist door.

The historicist system of interpretation, as well as the positions derived thereby, is being challenged. Both futurist and preterist perspectives are being urged upon the church. It is crucial in these times for Seventh-day Adventist Christians to understand the principles—and the sound rationale for them—by which we as a people have interpreted the important prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation.

Therefore, it is a pleasure for the Daniel and Revelation Committee to publish for wider study by the ministry and membership a series of selected studies that reaffirm historicist principles of interpretation (such as the year-day principle) and the positions (such as the investigative judgment) that our pioneers arrived at by means of those principles.

Dr. William H. Shea, the author of these studies, taught 14 years in the Theological Seminary at Andrews University serving for a time as chairman of its Old Testament Department. After spending seven years as a mission hospital physician in Central America, Dr. Shea turned to three years of graduate study in Assyriology at Harvard University. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. His specialities are ancient Near Eastern studies and Old Testament history. Presently he is an associate director of the Biblical Research Institute.

The Daniel and Revelation Committee,
General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

Chapter I

Biblical Parallels for the Investigative Judgment

Chapter Outline

I. Introduction
II. Judgments From the Tabernacle
III. Judgments From the Heavenly Temple
IV. Judgments From the Earthly Temple
V. Ezekiel 1–10
VI. Summary

Introduction

A fully developed biblical theology of divine judgment must draw from the extensive amount of literature in the OT on this as well as from the NT. The full extent of OT literature is too vast to be dealt with here, as may be illustrated by just one of its categories: the prophecies against the nations (also called the "foreign oracles").

These are the passages in which the prophets pronounce God's judgments upon the nations outside of Israel. The total volume of text devoted to this type of prophecy in the OT comes to about 35 chapters. If these 35 chapters were removed from their respective books and brought together, the biblical book formed in this fashion would be longer than any book in the NT and as long or longer than 32 of the 39 books in the OT.

All major prophets contain extensive collections of this material (Isa 13–23, Jer 46–51, Ezek 26–32), as do eight of the twelve minor prophets (Amos 1–2, Joel 3, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah 5, Nahum, Zephaniah 2, Zechariah 9). Three of the minor prophets consist entirely of prophecies of this kind (Jonah, Nahum, and Obadiah). This kind of prophecy provides the background for the judgments pronounced upon the beastlike nations in Daniel.

The difference is the frame of time in which such prophecies are set. The other prophets prophesied against nations that were contemporary with them, whereas Daniel's apocalyptic judgments were pronounced upon nations that would rise and fall from his time until the establishment of God's eternal kingdom. Thus, due to the similarity of this literature, the prophetic oracles provide the background for the apocalyptic judgments of Daniel. This is but one of a number of links between classical prophecy and apocalyptic.

Our purpose, however, is not to analyze the foreign oracles of the OT. We only call attention to one segment of the literature of the OT that would also need to be surveyed in order to develop a complete biblical theology of divine judgment. Consideration would also have to be given to God's judgments—both favorable and unfavorable—upon His own people Israel and to the element of blessings and curses in the covenant formula (compare Deut 27–33, for example). Both of these categories encompass an extensive body of literature. Considering the extensive amount of material on this subject, it is evident that we cannot attempt to provide a comprehensive survey of it here.

Given these limitations, I have selected one aspect of this subject that is particularly relevant to the topic in Daniel: namely, the location from which God's judgments have been issued when that aspect of judgment is mentioned. The majority of judgment passages in the OT do not comment on this, but in a significant number of cases the text explicitly states that God issued these judgments from His sanctuary.

Three different locations are involved in this type of text. The earthly tabernacle is commonly identified in the book of Numbers as the location from which God judged His people during their 40 years of wandering in the wilderness. Later the temple in Jerusalem, as God's dwelling place, became the source from which His judgments were issued, according to some passages in the Psalms and prophets. God's mighty acts in His earthly temple have corresponded in nature to His acts in His heavenly temple; hence, other psalms and prophets describe God's judgments as issuing from the heavenly temple.

The Adventist concept of the preadvent investigative judgment has held that God's judgment of His people is currently being conducted in His heavenly sanctuary. In OT times, whether judgment came from the earthly tabernacle, the earthly temple, or the heavenly temple, it came from a sanctuary God actively used at that time. Thus, God's past judgment activity from His sanctuary provides a background for, and a biblical link to, what Adventists have had to say about that type of activity by God in the present.

These biblical parallels for the investigative judgment currently being conducted in the heavenly temple indicate that this modern counterpart is only unique in its scope and extent, it is not unique in kind or quality per se. Adventists have been somewhat shortsighted on this subject, thinking that an investigative judgment at this time is completely and utterly unique and without parallel.

This aspect of the judgment literature of the OT is too extensive to permit each passage to be discussed in detail. Only a survey will be provided. The list of texts that follows is extensive but not exhaustive and is intended to be illustrative.

Judgments From the Tabernacle

Unfavorable Judgments

Immediately fatal:

***Leviticus 10*.** Shortly after they were installed as priests, Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, "offered unholy fire before the Lord, such as he had not commanded them" (vs. 1). Commentaries differ to some extent on the more precise nature of the sacrilege committed, but in any event it resulted in "fire [that] came forth from the presence of the Lord and devoured them, and they died before the Lord" (vs. 2). That this took place by the altar in front of the tabernacle is evident from Moses' instructions for their burial, "Carry your brethren from before the sanctuary out of the camp" (vs. 4).

***Numbers 16*.** Korah was a Levite who challenged Aaron for the priesthood (vs. 10). Dathan and Abiram challenged Moses' leadership more directly (vs. 13). Together they thought themselves just as holy and able to lead Israel as were Moses and Aaron (vs. 3). A test was arranged to resolve this issue. "So every man took his censer, and they put fire in them and laid incense upon them, and they stood at the entrance of the tent of meeting with Moses and Aaron. Then Korah assembled all the congregation against them at the entrance of the tent of meeting. And the glory of the Lord appeared to all the congregation" (vss. 18–19).

The Lord rejected the claim of the rebels and they were swallowed by the earth (vs. 32). Their leading sympathizers among the elders were burned with fire (vs. 35). The congregation came back the next day blaming Moses and Aaron for causing the trouble. "And when the congregation had assembled against Moses and against Aaron, they turned toward the tent of meeting; and behold, the cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord appeared. And Moses and Aaron came to the front of the tent of meeting." (vss. 42–43).

A plague then broke out among this larger group of rebels, but Aaron brought it to a halt by making atonement for them. The situations of Nadab and Abihu and Korah, Dathan, and Abiram are the only cases where judgments (immediately fatal) were specifically identified as issuing directly from the sanctuary. Both involved man's contrary plans about how he would minister in the presence of God in defiance of His specific instructions for those ministrations.

Delayed sentences:

***Numbers 14*.** This narrative tells the story of what happened after the spies brought their report back from Canaan. Accepting the bad report, the Israelites lamented that they had not died in the wilderness, and they wanted to choose another leader to take them back to Egypt. In response, "The glory of the Lord appeared at the tent of meeting to all the people of Israel. And the Lord said to Moses, 'How long will this people despise me?' " (vss. 10–11).

God then offered to disinherit the Israelites and make a great nation out of Moses' descendants, but Moses interceded for them. In response, God extended His pardon. But Israel did not escape without punishment for their rebellion. Those especially of the older generation, who had seen all the signs and wonders God had wrought, and who nonetheless rebelled against Him, were not to enter Canaan. They were to wander in the wilderness for 40 years, until a new generation arose who would go into the promised land.

***Numbers 20*.** Even Moses was not immune to such treatment. After wandering in the wilderness forty years, the Israelites came again to Kadesh on the borders of Canaan. But there was no water at Kadesh, and the people began to complain, wishing they had died in the wilderness or remained in Egypt.

Moses and Aaron withdrew from the complaining multitude and made their way "to the door of the tent of meeting, and fell on their faces" (vs. 6). From this place, His sanctuary, God instructed them to assemble the people to a certain place and to "tell the rock before their eyes to yield its water" (vs. 8).

However, Moses struck the rock instead of speaking to it as God had instructed. The rock gave the needed water; but because of the disobedience of Moses the Lord said, "Because you did not believe in me, to sanctify me in the eyes of the people of Israel, therefore you shall not bring this assembly into the land which I have given to them" (vs. 12).

The text does not specifically state that Moses' sentence came from the tabernacle where earlier he was given instruction about speaking to the rock, but this is a possibility.

A lesser sentence:

***Numbers 12*.** Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because he had married a Cushite woman (vs. 1). In so doing they not only criticized his choice of a wife, they also called his leadership of Israel into question, since God had also spoken by them (vs. 2). As a result, "The Lord said to Moses and to Aaron and to Miriam, 'Come out, you three, to the tent of meeting.' And the three of them came out. And the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the tent" (vss. 4–5).

There the Lord testified on behalf of His servant Moses, "and when the cloud removed from over the tent, behold, Miriam was leprous, as white as snow" (vs. 10). Moses interceded with God on her behalf. Although healed, Miriam was banished from the camp for seven days.

Favorable Judgments

Judgments with regard to office:

Numbers 11**.** The responsibility for the children of Israel weighed heavily upon Moses. "I am not able to carry all this people alone, the burden is too heavy for me" (vs. 14). The Lord then made arrangements to appoint assistants to aid him in bearing those burdens: "Gather for me seventy men of the elders of Israel, … and bring them to the tent of meeting, and let them take their stand there with you. And I will come down and talk with you there; and I will take some of the spirit which is upon you and put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with you" (vss. 16–17).

Moses followed the Lord's instruction in this matter: "He gathered seventy men of the elders of the people, and placed them round about the tent. Then the Lord came down in the cloud and spoke to him and took some of the spirit that was upon him and put it upon the seventy elders; and when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied" (vss. 24–25).

These men were accepted into office by the Lord at the sanctuary. He gave evidence of their acceptance, judging in their favor, as it were, by sending His spirit upon them.

Numbers 17**.** A test was arranged to confirm Aaron as high priest after Korah had challenged him. Twelve rods were selected, one for each tribe. The name of the leader of each tribe was written on its rod. Aaron's name was written on Levi's rod. This case was settled not at the door of the sanctuary but in the sanctuary. "Then you shall deposit them in the tent of meeting before the testimony, where I meet with you" (vs. 4).

According to instructions, "Moses deposited the rods before the Lord in the tent of the testimony" (vs. 7). The Lord judged in Aaron's favor and confirmed him in office. "Moses went into the tent of the testimony; and behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi had sprouted" (vs. 8).

A judgment with regard to land:

Numbers 27**.** Zelophehad had no sons and thus no male heirs, but five daughters were born to him before he died in the wilderness. From this turn of events his daughters felt they had been unfairly disfranchised from possessing land in Israel. They presented their case at the door of the tent of meeting in the presence of Moses, the leaders, and the congregation (vs. 2). Once again there has been investigation of the case at the sanctuary, and a judgment given from there.

"Moses brought their case before the Lord. And the Lord said to Moses, 'The daughters of Zelophehad are right; you shall give them possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren and cause the inheritance of their father to pass to them' " (vss. 5–7).

Thus the Lord judged in favor of the daughters of Zelophehad when their case was presented before Him in the sanctuary.

Judgments From the Heavenly Temple

In the Psalms

Psalm 11. This short psalm begins with a personal lament over the violence done to the righteous by the wicked. The psalmist then proceeds to an expression of trust in the justice of God who will right the imbalanced relationships between these two groups with His judgments. The temple in heaven is the place where God pronounces these judgments:

> The Lord is in his holy temple,
> the Lord's throne is in heaven;
> his eyes behold, his eyelids test,
> the children of men.
> The Lord tests the righteous and the wicked. (vss. 4–5a)

From the temple come His judgments upon the wicked (vs. 6) and His judgment in favor of the righteous (vs. 7).

Psalm 14. This psalm begins with the statement, "The fool says in his heart, 'There is no God.' " This denial of God's existence has borne its fruit in the wickedness of men and the harm they have done to God's people. God observes all this from His temple in heaven and evaluates such conduct. "The Lord looks down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there are any that act wisely, that seek after God" (vs. 2).

This situation will be reversed when God judges against the wicked and in favor of the righteous:

> There they shall be in great terror,
> for God is with the generation of the righteous.
> You would confound the plans of the poor,
> but the Lord is his refuge. (vss. 5–6)

Drawing upon this theme, the psalmist concludes with an appeal to God for the deliverance of His people and His restoration of good fortune.

Psalm 29. This psalm contains an expression of God's judgment upon the Canaanites. That judgment is described as a storm that comes in off the Mediterranean to strike Canaanite—not Israelite—territory with destructive force (vss. 3–8a). The description tells how the storm was ordered by God from His heavenly temple as the angelic host stood by (vss. 1–2, 9b). In response to this demonstration of His power all the host in Yahweh's heavenly temple ascribe glory to Him as they were exhorted to do at the beginning of the psalm. The psalm closes with a reference to the fact that Yahweh sits enthroned as king forever and with an appeal that He would give strength and peace to His people (vss. 10–11).

Psalm 53. This is a duplicate of Psalm 14; see above.

Psalm 76. This psalm provides an interesting illustration of the connection between God's work in the earthly temple and His work in the heavenly temple. The psalm opens by describing Jerusalem as His place of residence:

> In Judah God is known,
> his name is great in Israel.
> His abode has been established in Salem,
> his dwelling place in Zion. (vss. 1–2)

From this earthly residence God defeated the enemies of His people, according to the following five verses. But this was not just a reflection of His activity from His temple in Jerusalem. This judgment on behalf of His oppressed people actually came down from heaven:

> From the heavens thou didst utter judgment;
> the earth feared and was still,
> when God arose to establish judgment
> to save all the oppressed of the earth. (vss. 8–9)

Psalm 102. This psalm is the cry of one whose sufferings are unexplained. The first 11 verses convey the psalmist's lament about his personal condition. The lament is then extended to include his concern about the sorry state of Zion. Responding to this situation, the psalmist expresses his confidence that God will arise from His throne and judge in favor of Zion and against her enemies:

> But thou, O Lord, art enthroned for ever;
> thy name endures to all generations.
> Thou wilt arise and have pity on Zion;
> it is the time to favor her;
> the appointed time has come. (vss. 12–13)

The throne from which God was to arise to judge on behalf of His people was located in heaven:

> He looked down from his holy height,
> from heaven the Lord looked at the earth,
> to hear the groans of the prisoners,
> to set free those who were doomed to die. (vss. 19–20)

Psalm 103. Gratitude to God is expressed all the way through this hymn of thanksgiving which has been called the *Te Deum* of the OT. Thanks are given for the fivefold blessing of the forgiveness of sins, the healing of illness, rescue from Sheol, admittance to a blessed afterlife, and the eternal enjoyment of God's beauty in heaven. That these blessings flow from God's faithfulness to His covenant promises because of His love, is a recurring theme through this psalm (compare vss. 4, 8, 11, 17).

It is in this context that God judges on behalf of His downtrodden people, "The Lord works vindication and justice for all who are oppressed" (vs. 6). This justice flows from His throne in heaven from which He rules over His earthly kingdom, "The Lord has established his throne in the heavens, and his kingdom rules over all" (vs. 19).

In the Prophets

Micah 1. God's judgments upon His rebellious people issue from His heavenly temple according to the introduction to the book of Micah:

> Hear, you people, all of you;
> hearken, O earth, and all that is in it;
> and let the Lord God be a witness against you,
> the Lord from his holy temple.
> For behold, the Lord is coming forth out of his place,
> and will come down and tread upon the high places of the earth.
> And the mountains will melt under him and the valleys will be cleft,
> like wax before the fire, like waters poured down a steep place.
> All this is for the transgression of Jacob
> and for the sins of the house of Israel. (vss. 2–5)

1 Kings 22. Ahab enlisted the military assistance of Jehoshaphat of Judah to attack the Syrians who held Ramoth-Gilead in the Transjordanian territory of Manasseh. Before going along with him, Jeboshaphat wanted to know if a word from the Lord was available through one of His prophets. Ahab summoned his court prophets who naturally endorsed the proposed campaign, even to the acting out of his forthcoming victory. Jehoshaphat was not satisfied with this, however, and wanted to inquire of a prophet of Yahweh. Ahab admitted that Micaiah ben Imlah fitted this bill, but he was loathe to summon him, "for he never prophesies good concerning me, but evil" (vs. 8). At Jehoshaphat's insistence Micaiah was summoned.

When his evaluation of this project was first sought, Micaiah sardonically replied, "Go up and triumph; the Lord will give it into the hand of the king" (vs. 15). Ahab then put him under an oath to Yahweh to tell the truth. Rising to this occasion, Micaiah replied, "I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd; and the Lord said, 'These have no master; let each return to his home in peace' " (vs. 17).

The shepherd in this prophecy obviously was Ahab, and Micaiah clearly had given him a prophecy of his death in battle along with the defeat of his troops. Micaiah then confirmed that this sentence upon Ahab came from the heavenly court: "Therefore hear the word of the Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him on his right hand and on his left" (vs. 19).

Ahab foolishly persevered in this project and Micaiah's prophecy concerning him was fulfilled when Ahab died in battle (vss. 34–35).

Judgments From the Earthly Temple

In the Psalms

Psalm 9. This psalm opens with praise for God. The particular reason for this praise is explained as the defeat of an enemy (vss. 5–6). This enemy's defeat is attributed to a righteous judgment on God's part:

> When my enemies turned back,
> they stumbled and perished before thee.
> For thou hast maintained my just cause;
> thou hast sat on the throne
> giving righteous judgment. (vss. 3–4)

Following the description of the defeat of the enemy (vss. 5–6), the psalm returns, in an A:B:A thematic pattern, to the idea that this defeat is attributable to a righteous judgment from God:

> But the Lord sits enthroned for ever,
> he has established his throne for judgment;
> and he judges the world with righteousness,
> he judges the people with equity. (vss. 7–8)

The same thought is brought out again toward the end of this psalm:

> The Lord has made himself known,
> he has executed judgment;
> the wicked are snared in the work
> of their own hands. (vs. 16)

A passage of praise in the middle of the psalm locates the throne of God mentioned in these verses in Zion or Jerusalem, "Sing praises to the Lord, who dwells in Zion!" (vs. 11).

Psalm 50. The coming of God to judge his people is described in this psalm in terms of a theophany. The first stanza of the poem identifies God as the judge who comes from Zion, hence from His earthly temple. He summons His people to come to His covenant lawsuit against them (vss. 1–7). The personified heavens act as witnesses in this setting; they do not refer to the place from which He comes to judge:

> Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty,
> God shines forth. (vs. 2)
> He calls to the heavens above and to the earth,
> that He may judge his people:
> "Gather to me my faithful ones,
> who have made a covenant with me by sacrifice!"
> The heavens declare his righteousness,
> for God himself is judge! (vss. 4–6)

The next two stanzas are addressed to the righteous in Israel who had not fully grasped the type of sacrifice God desired—not a further round of animals offered, but thanksgiving (vss. 8–15). The next stanza describes the various ways in which wicked Israelites have broken God's laws and His covenant (vss. 16–21). The concluding stanza contains a warning to the wicked and an exhortation to the righteous, the two groups in Israel to be judged by God from Zion (vss. 22–23).

Psalm 60. This psalm is a communal lament in which a national defeat is described and prayer is offered for victory over the nation's foes, especially Edom. It follows an A:B::A′:B′ literary structure. A (vss. 3–5) represents the description of the defeat or past history, and A′ represents God's promise to reverse that defeat or future history (vss. 6–8). B and B′ both represent prayers offered by Israel for victory. The A′ section, which contains God's promise of future victory, is introduced with the statement, "God has spoken in his sanctuary" (vs. 6). Thus the future defeat of Israel's foes described in this section comes as a judgment pronounced upon them by God, most likely from His earthly sanctuary.

Psalm 73. This is a wisdom psalm in which the justice of God and the problem of the prosperity of the wicked are examined. The psalmist could not understand this until he went "into the sanctuary of God"; then he "perceived their end" (vs. 17).

This verse is the thematic and structural center of this psalm. From this point on his understanding about the final disposition of the cases of the wicked and the righteous develops. The wicked will perish like a breath of wind, but God has promised to receive the righteous into glory. On the basis of his development of this understanding, the psalmist became willing to trust in God. It was in the precincts of the earthly sanctuary, therefore, that he developed this understanding that God's ultimate judgment would be righteous.

Psalm 99. This is one of the "Lord reigns" psalms which describe God's rule. The opening description centers His reign in Jerusalem:

> He sits enthroned upon the cherubim;
> let the earth quake!
> The Lord is great in Zion;
> he is exalted over all the peoples. (vss. 1–2)

The particular aspect of God's character singled out as worthy of worship here is found in the description of Him as:

> Mighty King, lover of justice,
> thou hast established equity;
> thou hast executed justice
> and righteousness in Jacob. (vs. 4)

The second half of the psalm tells how God communicated His will to Moses, Aaron, and Samuel. To even these privileged few, however, he was "a forgiving God …, but an avenger of their wrongdoings" (vs. 8). On the basis of this aspect of His character, as it was demonstrated in His treatment of these leaders, Israel is exhorted to worship "at his footstool" (vs. 5), and "at his holy mountain" (vs. 9), that is, at the earthly temple in Jerusalem.

In the Prophets

Isaiah 6. This narrative describes the call of Isaiah to the prophetic ministry. The first verse dates the vision to the year King Uzziah died, about 740 B.C., and gives the location where God appeared to him as the temple. The second and third verses describe the seraphim who accompanied God and their hymn in which they ascribe holiness to Him.

As a result of this manifestation of the glory of God, "the foundations of the thresholds shook at the voice of him who called, and the house was filled with smoke" (vs. 4). Commentators differ on what building was involved, but it seems likely that this vision refers to the earthly temple. Isaiah was overwhelmed with this vision of God and His glory. "Woe is me! For I am lost; for I am a man of unclean lips, and dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for my eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts!" (vs. 5).

One of the seraphim who accompanied God was sent to Isaiah with a coal from the altar. When Isaiah's lips were touched with it, his sins were forgiven and he was given the ability to fulfill the mission to which he was then called—to serve as a prophet, taking God's message to His people. Isaiah accepted that commission and its message.

It is at this point that homilies on the chapter commonly stop. They are generally concerned either with God's glory or with the enabling of Isaiah to serve as God's messenger, or with his willingness to accept that responsibility. But this narrative contains more than these three elements. Isaiah was also asked to bear a message of judgment to his people. When he asked how long this message was to be given, he was told:

> Until cities lie waste without inhabitant,
>   and houses without men,
>   and the land is utterly desolate,
> And the Lord removes men far away,
>   and the forsaken places are many
>   in the midst of the land. (vss. 11–12)

In spite of the dire nature of this prophecy the last phrase in the concluding verse of this chapter already gives the embryo promise of the remnant. These would eventually return from exile to repopulate the judged and desolate land. It is not surprising, therefore, that Isaiah should later prophesy of the exile and promise a return from it, since that message was originally given to him at the time he was called to the prophetic ministry.

On the occasion when he saw a vision of God's glory in the earthly temple, Isaiah was given a message of judgment for his people; and that message of judgment referred directly to the exile which Judah finally experienced a century after his time.

Isaiah 18. This reference to God judging from His dwelling place is interesting since its context is the series of prophecies against the nations, the particular prophecy being the oracle against Ethiopia. In the process of pronouncing judgment upon Ethiopia, God said He would look quietly from His "dwelling" (vs. 4). The judgment pronounced upon Ethiopia was that its forces would be defeated: "They shall all of them be left to the birds of prey of the mountains and to the beasts of the earth" (vs. 6).

Either the heavenly or the earthly temple could have been intended here. The latter seems more likely in view of Isaiah 6 discussed above and the conclusion to this foreign oracle which prophesies of a time when the Ethiopians would bring gifts "to Mount Zion, the place of the name of the Lord of hosts" (vs. 7).

Amos 1. Amos is reasonably straightforward in the introduction to his prophecy about the Lord issuing His judgments upon the northern kingdom of Israel from His residence, or temple, in Jerusalem:

> The Lord roars from Zion,
>   and utters his voice from Jerusalem;
> The pastures of the shepherds mourn,
>   and the top of Carmel withers. (vs. 2)

Joel 2–3. Joel 2:30 to 3:21 describes how God was to judge between His people and the nations. In order to do this the nations were to be gathered to the Valley of Jehoshaphat ("Yahweh judges") for their judgment: "I will gather all the nations and bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will enter into judgment with them there" (3:2).

> Let the nations bestir themselves,
>   and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat;
> for there I will sit to judge
>   all the nations round about. (3:12)

This judgment was to be twofold. God was going to judge on behalf of His people and against the nations. For their part God's people were to be delivered (2:32), returned to their land (3:7), have their fortunes restored (3:1), and enjoy a future of peace and prosperity (3:18, 20). The nations had been guilty of subjugating God's people and lands (3:2), plundering that land and its temple (3:5), and exiling His people (3:6). The nations who had brought all these troubles upon God's people were, therefore, to be judged accordingly. Their own populations would be deported and their lands left desolate (3:8, 19). These judgments were to issue from God's holy mount Zion in Jerusalem, the place where He dwelt:

> And the Lord roars from Zion,
>   and utters his voice from Jerusalem,
>   and the heavens and the earth shake.
> But the Lord is a refuge to his people,
>   a stronghold to the people of Israel.
> So you shall know that I am the Lord your God,
>   who dwells in Zion, my holy mountain. (3:16–17)

Malachi 3. This prophecy is about the time when "the Lord whom you seek will suddenly come to his temple" (vs. 1). This will bring in a day of judgment: "Who can endure the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appears? For he is like a refiner's fire and like fullers' soap" (vs. 2).

At that time "he will sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he will purify the sons of Levi and refine them like gold and silver, till they present right offerings to the Lord" (vs. 3). The prophecy further identifies that time as one of judgment: "Then I will draw near to you for judgment" (vs. 5). Seven classes are then identified among God's professed people who will not be acceptable to Him.

Ezekiel 1–10. God bore long and patiently with His rebellious people during the eight centuries they inhabited the promised land of Canaan (four centuries under the judges and four centuries under the kings). Their conduct in violation of the covenant with Him and their failure to develop a genuine relationship of steadfast love finally led God to permit His professed people to be exiled from the land upon which they had dwelt for so long.

From the parallels to such a situation which we have seen above it is only natural to expect that this fate would be expressed in the form of judgment pronounced upon God's people by one of His prophets. We might not only expect that such a judgment would be pronounced, but more specifically, that it would come from His temple, the place from which the judgments studied above were also issued.

And so it was. The judgment that fits these criteria is the most lengthy of the judgment scenes in the OT. It was seen by Ezekiel during the last years of the existence of God's people under the monarchy. Historically the judgment scene in this vision was fulfilled or carried out by Nebuchadnezzar when he conquered and burned Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and exiled God's people. The following discussion of this judgment scene is adapted from my writings published elsewhere.[1]

Ezekiel 1–10

An understanding of the investigative judgment of Judah in Ezekiel 1–10 will shed light on the views of the heavenly court referred to by other prophets. For example, in studying the apocalyptic view of the final investigative judgment of God as described in the court scene of Daniel 7, it is well to take the preceding analogue of the final judgment of Judah into account. The earlier judgment from the temple in Jerusalem mirrors in microcosm what is foreseen as happening on the macrocosmic scale in the later judgment session to be convened in the temple in heaven.

Journey of God

Ezekiel's prophetic ministry began when the hand of Yahweh came upon him while he was by the river Chebar on the fifth day of the fourth month in the fifth year of the exile, or July 592 B.C. (calculating that date according to a fall-to-fall calendar, which I favor for interpreting Ezekiel's dates [Ezek 1:1–3]).

In order to understand Ezekiel's messages concerning Judah as recorded in the first 24 chapters of his book, it is important to notice the compact chronological space into which these messages were compressed. The siege of Jerusalem began in January 588 B.C., only three and one-half years after Ezekiel's call, and the city fell to the Babylonians in July 586 B.C., after two and one-half years. Thus the messages are dated to the final days of the kingdom of Judah, and represent God's last warning message to His people. This portion of Ezekiel's ministry was not spread out over two, three, or four decades as were the ministries of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Only when this chronological aspect of Ezekiel's ministry is appreciated can his messages be put in proper perspective.

Referring to his call to the prophetic ministry, Ezekiel (a contemporary of Daniel) said that the heavens were opened before him and he saw visions of God (Ezek 1:1). The vision is described in extensive detail in what follows. The description of the vision deals not so much with God as with the beings and objects that Ezekiel saw with Him. Much scholarly ingenuity has gone into studying the various details of this vision for the biblical commentaries. Here we need only note the essential features of the vision, often missed because commentators dealing with so intricate a subject have difficulty seeing the forest for the trees.

At the outset Ezekiel saw a great whirlwind coming out of the north. This storm cloud is described in more than natural terms: "A great cloud, with brightness round about it, and fire flashing forth continually, and in the midst of the fire, as it were gleaming bronze" (Ezek 1:4). The direction from which this cloud approaches—the north—is significant, and will be discussed later.

The first features to emerge from the storm cloud took on the form of four living beings (vss. 5–14). Although these four living beings are identified in Ezekiel 10 as "cherubim," it is important to note for reasons discussed below that the term cherubim is not applied to them in chapter 1. These four living beings reappear around the throne of God in Revelation 4. Although there are minor differences in the descriptions of them by Ezekiel and John, it is obvious that the same beings were seen by both men. They are referred to in both passages in similar terms—as living beings.

Leaving aside the symbols involved in the appearance of the four living beings, there are three principal features about them that we should note. They have wings (vss. 6, 8, 11, 14). Wings are used for flying; thus we see these living beings in motion (vss. 9, 12, 14). Furthermore, something that looked like torches of fire with burning coals moved among them (vs. 13). The use to which the fire was put is described in chapter 10. More important in this present context, however, is the description of intense activity on the part of the living beings; they were in motion—they were going somewhere. But before we determine where they were going we should note further what else they took with them.

The next section of the vision describes four wheels, one for each living being (vss. 17, 19–21). But wheels are used for motion, in particular on the ground; thus these wheels touch the ground from time to time (vss. 19, 21). The important thing to note from this passage is again the intense description of motion. The wheels were going somewhere, too. Before we determine where the wheels were going we should determine what they were taking with them.

The next section of the vision describes the firmament that was spread out above the heads and wings of the four living beings (vss. 22–25). This firmament was in motion, too, for the living beings travel with it (vs. 24) and, on command (vs. 25), they bring the firmament to a stop. The firmament served the purpose of bearing the throne of God (vs. 26).

The final section of the vision (vss. 26–28) describes God Himself who is seated upon the throne. He is described as in the "likeness" of human form, but most of the description of God is taken up with a description of His glory. Thus the glory encircling Him and radiating from His person is described as "gleaming bronze, like the appearance of fire, … and there was brightness round about" (vs. 27).

These are the same elements seen in the storm cloud at first (vs. 4); thus it is evident that the radiance emanating from the cloud was nothing short of the glory of God. "Such," Ezekiel tells us, "was the appearance … of the glory of the Lord" (vs. 28). As a result of having this glory revealed to him, Ezekiel fell upon his face. God spoke to the exiled priest and gave him his charge and commission as a prophet to God's people.

At the heart of this vision is the person of God and His attendant glory. His person and glory are circumscribed in terms of location, however, for He is seated upon His throne. His throne is supported by the firmament of the divine palanquin, which is accompanied, or borne up, by His attendants, the four living beings, and the wheels underneath them.

The wheels, the living beings, and the firmament are in motion. The description of that motion is marked throughout the passage. The throne of God must accompany the firmament that bears it up; thus God also is in motion. God is going somewhere, and that is the point of the vision. God is riding His celestial chariot toward a particular destination.

Commentators have noted and emphasized that this is a vision of the glory of God, which it certainly is. But they have only incidentally noted the motion involved in the vision. God and His glory are not oscillating idly back and forth in a vacuum. His movement is intentional and directional. He is the One who orders the wheels and the living beings to follow the direction in which they are to travel with the firmament and His throne.

That brings us to the question as to where God was going when Ezekiel saw Him in vision by the river Chebar. To answer this question we should return to verse 4 where it is stated that the storm-cloud chariot bearing God was seen coming from the north. From Ezekiel's point of view a storm cloud coming out of the north could have traveled either to the southeast (to the exiles in Babylon), or to the southwest (to Judah and Jerusalem).

The record of this vision does not tell us which direction God's chariot took. It is clear, however, from what follows in chapters 9–11 that God was traveling southwest to His temple in Jerusalem. In the later chapters God is depicted as taking leave of the temple after having taken up His residence there for a period of time. The principal point of the vision in the first chapter of Ezekiel is that God was in transit by means of His celestial chariot to the site of His earthly residence, His temple in Jerusalem.

Judgment of God

The two chapters containing the prophet's commission and charge (Ezek 2–3) are followed by three chapters (4–7) that contain a series of indictments for Judah's transgressions and prophecies regarding her coming judgment. The prophecies of judgment were both enacted (Ezek 4:1–5:5) and stated in terms of siege, famine, decimation, exile of the population, and desolation of the land. The dumb prophet could speak only as the Spirit prompted him.

The indictment for sin opens with a general statement concerning the rejection of God's statutes and ordinances by the people (Ezek 5:6). It continues with specific indictments of idolatry (chap. 6) and of the violence, pride, injustice, and bloody crimes in society (chap. 7). Finally, it culminates with a vision depicting the idolatry which had corrupted the very precincts of Yahweh's temple (chap. 8).

Ezekiel's vision of the fourfold corruption of the temple precincts is dated in the sixth month of the sixth year of the exile, or September 591 B.C. (Ezek 8:1). This date indicates that Yahweh had been in residence in His temple for 14 months. The period of time indicated here that Yahweh was in residence in His temple in a special way raises two related questions: Why did He come there in the first place, and what did He do while He was there? The first question is relevant because it could be observed that Yahweh's presence in His temple was already represented by the Shekinah glory resting over the ark of the covenant in the Most Holy Place before Ezekiel was given the vision of chapter 1.

If Yahweh's presence was already manifested in that place in this way, why did He need to come to His temple in terms of the vision given to Ezekiel in chapter 1? The evident answer is that He came there to do a special work, and this particular view of His coming to His temple places great emphasis on the important nature of that work.

The messages given to the prophet, as recorded in the chapters spanning the gap between the visions of chapter 1 and of chapter 8, suggest that the special work was of judgment. In other words, Yahweh sat in judgment upon His people in His temple for some 14 months, as may be determined by the datelines connected with these visions, the contents of the visions themselves, and the nature of the messages given to Ezekiel during the interval between the two visions.

The continuation of this vision in chapter 9 provides further support for the idea that Yahweh took up residence in His temple for this time period in order to judge His people, for the result of that session of judgment is described in this passage. The people of Judah who professed to serve God were divided into two classes: those who really did serve Him—as evidenced by their sighing and crying for the abominations done in the land, and those who did not serve Him—as evidenced by the fact that they were the ones responsible for those abominations. The division between these two groups was to be made by the angel who was outfitted as a scribe. He was instructed to pass among the people and write a mark (literally the Hebrew letter *tāw*) on the foreheads of those who belonged to the first group (Ezek 9:4).

In this particular instance the use of the letter *tāw* as a special marker may derive its importance from the fact that it was the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet. By selecting individuals in this manner, the angel marked them as the *last* of the righteous, that is, the righteous remnant to be saved from the destruction of Judah.

The significance of the symbolism is evident from the subsequent actions of the destroying angels who were to pass through the city to slay the people who were not so marked. Historically this prophecy was fulfilled when Nebuchadnezzar's army besieged and conquered Jerusalem a few years after this vision was given.

The other part of the judgment was a judgment upon the city. In this case the city was to be burned with the coals of fire which the four living beings brought with them (Ezek 1:13; 10:2). This judgment was also carried out historically by Nebuchadnezzar's army (2 Kgs 25:9).

Thus a differentiation was made between the two classes of people in Judah at this time—the righteous and the wicked—the remnant to be saved and those not of the remnant to be destroyed. The implication of this division is that the distinction between the individuals in these two groups had been drawn up while Yahweh sat in judgment in His temple. The execution of the sentence was the result of decisions reached during the session of judgment in the temple. This judgment of the inhabitants of Judah was investigative in the sense that a decision had been reached in each case and a division had been drawn between these two classes of people as a result.

Departure of God

When a decision had been reached in every case, there was no longer any need for Yahweh to remain in His temple. During the vision of the idolatrous corruptions of the temple (chap. 8), Yahweh raised the question, "Son of man, do you see what they are doing, the great abominations that the house of Israel are committing here, *to drive me far from my sanctuary*?" (Ezek 8:6). Thus Yahweh's departure from His temple was not an arbitrary action carried out on His part; His people had driven Him from His own house. The scene is given in chapters 9 through 11.

Ezekiel sees the throne upon the firmament with the living beings, now called cherubim, standing by (Ezek 10:1). The chariot of God stands empty, waiting for Yahweh to take up His position upon His throne. The description of the movement of God from His temple is repeated three times (Ezek 9:3; 10:4; 10:18). The sound of the wings of the cherubim is heard next (10:5), and the wheels were set in motion (10:13). The divine chariot is to be taken up once again because Yahweh is taking leave of His temple.

Ezekiel is emphatic that the living beings he had seen formerly were now to be identified as cherubim. With the exception of the reference to the cherubim who guarded the gates to the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:24), cherubim in the OT are generally connected with the representative models attached to the mercy seat covering the ark of the covenant in the Most Holy Place of the temple. When these beings came with Yahweh's chariot in chapter 1, they were only identified as living (that is, heavenly) beings. Now they are identified with the cherubim who had been present up to this point in the earthly temple.

Thus these living beings become, as it were, spirits that animate these formerly inanimate and representative forms from the temple. The identification of these heavenly beings with their earthly representations in the temple, and the departure of both, is another way of stating how emphatically Yahweh's temple had been abandoned—that even the models of the cherubim from the lid of the ark now went on their way.

The divine chariot is first seen at the threshold of the temple building itself: "The glory of the Lord went up from the cherubim to the threshold of the house; and the house was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the glory of the Lord" (Ezek 10:4). Next it moved to the east gate of the temple precincts. "The cherubim lifted up their wings and mounted up from the earth in my sight as they went forth, with the wheels beside them; and they stood at the door of the east gate of the house of the Lord; and the glory of the God of Israel was over them" (10:19). Finally it crossed the Kidron Valley, to rest for a fleeting moment over the Mount of Olives, as Yahweh, His judgment of His people now complete, takes final leave of His house, His people, and His city. "Then the cherubim lifted up their wings, with the wheels beside them; and the glory of the God of Israel was over them. And the glory of the Lord went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain which is on the east side of the city" (11:22–23).

The vision covering chapters 9 through 11 is a reciprocal of the vision given in chapter 1. In chapter 1 Yahweh came to His temple for a work of judgment; and in chapters 9–11, that work of judgment completed, He departed from His temple and city. When Yahweh left His temple, He did not depart in the direction from which He came, for He came from the north (Ezek 1:4), the direction from which the earthly agents of His judgment—the Babylonian army—came. He departed to the east (Ezek 10:19; 11:23), in the direction of His exiled people who would yet return to His land and city, according to the prophecies that follow in Ezekiel.

Expectancy of God

A related vision of God and His glory appears in the tenth chapter of the book of Daniel. Daniel had been praying and fasting over some problem for three weeks (Dan 10:3). Michael and Gabriel had been wrestling with Cyrus, presumably about the same problem, for the same period of 21 days (10:13). Since the vision of this chapter was given to Daniel at the end of three full weeks, it would have been given to him on a Sabbath. The vision Daniel was given on this occasion was a vision of God and His glory. It is similar to the visions given to Ezekiel, (Ezek 1 and 10). In Daniel's case, he did not see God going to or coming from His temple; He was still in the east.

This brings up the question as to what Daniel, Michael, and Gabriel were so concerned about on this occasion. This vision was given in the third year of Cyrus (Dan 10:1). The first wave of exiles had already returned to Judah by this time (Ezra 1:1; 3:1, 8) so the return of the exiles was not at stake here. The city of Jerusalem was not to be rebuilt until almost a century later; hence, Jerusalem was not at stake here either. That leaves the temple.

As is revealed in Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra 5–6, it was not God's intention that the reconstruction of the temple be delayed as long as it was. It was delayed in particular because of local opposition (Ezra 4:4). One aspect of this local opposition was that they "hired counselors against them to frustrate their purpose" (Ezra 4:5). One hires counselors to serve at court, and the court of greatest importance at this time was the court of Cyrus, that would have been the most effective place for these hired counselors to have lobbied.

The convergence of these factors suggests that Cyrus acceded to pressure applied by these counselors and had the Jews suspend their building on the temple. This then is the issue most likely at stake in Daniel 10—Cyrus' change of opinion as to the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem. The glory of God was still seen in the east then, according to Daniel's vision, because He was still waiting to return to His temple, the construction of which had been delayed by these obstacles, historically not overcome for another decade.

Return of God

The picture of the return from exile and the restoration blossoms out fully in the last third of the book of Ezekiel, especially its final eight chapters. A central part of the picture is the restoration of the temple, a remarkably detailed description of which is given in chapters 40–42.

After the temple is seen as rebuilt, the glory of God could return to it, and this it does from the east, the direction in which it previously departed from the temple: "And behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the east; and the sound of his coming was like the sound of many waters; and the earth shone with his glory. And the vision I saw was like the vision which I had seen ... by the river Chebar; and I fell upon my face. As the glory of the Lord entered the temple by the gate facing east, the Spirit lifted me up, and brought me into the inner court; and behold, the glory of the Lord filled the temple" (Ezek 43:2–5).

An interesting aspect of this vision of the restoration of the temple and the glory of God returning to it is the date on which it was given. The dateline of Ezekiel 40:1 gives that day as the tenth day of *roʾš hašānāh* of the twenty-fifth year of the exile. This chronological datum is unique in the OT and the question arises as to which new year is meant—that of the spring or that of the fall? The dates in Ezekiel have been interpreted here according to a fall calendar; and that being the case, the same interpretation should be followed here. *Rosh Hashanah* of modern Judaism is celebrated in the fall. This provides a minor supplementary indication that a fall calendar is intended in this dateline and elsewhere in Ezekiel.

But this vision was not given to Ezekiel on the day of the fall New Year, or 1 Tishri; it was given ten days later. The tenth day of the fall New Year, or *Rosh Hashanah*, referred to here, is, therefore, *Yom Kippur*, or the Day of Atonement. It was celebrated on the tenth day of the seventh month, or Tishri. Thus this vision of the cleansed and restored temple was given on the Day of Atonement, when the first temple was cleansed ritually during the services. On that day Ezekiel saw in vision the second temple restored, cleansed, and purified.

Thus the visions of God and His glory given to Ezekiel and Daniel center on His temple and His relationship to it. In Ezekiel 1 He is seen coming to His temple from the north to take up His work of judgment. In Ezekiel 10 He is seen leaving His temple to the east 14 months later, having completed that work of judgment. Almost 70 years later He is still seen by Daniel to be in the east waiting to reenter His as-yet-unreconstructed temple. Then He is finally seen by Ezekiel on the Day of Atonement (40:1) returning from the east to His temple, which was ultimately to be reconstructed (43:1–7).

Summary

Twenty-eight passages dealing with judgment in the OT have been surveyed above for their connections with the sanctuary. This list is not exhaustive, but it is reasonably comprehensive and fairly representative. The forms of the sanctuary mentioned in these passages are distributed in a relatively even statistical fashion. About a third of them (eight) are related to the tabernacle in the wilderness, another third (nine) have connections with the heavenly temple, and the final third (eleven) are set in the context of the earthly temple in Jerusalem.

In general, connections with the heavenly temple are more common in the Psalms, while connections with the earthly temple are more evident in the prophets. The fact that the alternative relations occur in both of these bodies of literature indicates that this distinction is not of major importance. On the contrary, the rather even statistical distribution underscores the fact that this judgment-aspect of the work of God in the temple of heaven related directly to this work in His earthly residences.

Thus in OT times the work of judgment in the heavenly temple and the same type of work in the earthly temple/tabernacle were two sides of the same coin. They were simply different manifestations of the same work, just as they are directly connected in Psalm 76.

There are many prophecies or statements about judgment in the OT which do not contain any specific mention of their connection with the sanctuary. That relationship did not have to be mentioned in all instances, however, and on the basis of the above discussion, a sanctuary setting may be assumed in these other cases. Just as the sanctuary was the center of God's redemptive activity, whether that point was explicitly stated in any given passage or not, just so it was also the center from which His judgments were issued.

The sanctuary, whether earthly or heavenly, was the place where God dwelt. Since He was the one who issued such judgments, it is only natural that they were issued from the place where He dwelt. Thus the relationship between the sanctuary and judgment described in the passages discussed above is a natural one. God's government centers in His sanctuary.

It is interesting to note how often these judgments were pronounced in the context of a theophanic view of God. It is fair to state that when such views of God are described in the Bible, they are found most commonly in this type of literature. This relationship may not be exclusive, but it is a common one. The holiness and glory of God expressed in such scenes certainly adds solemnity to their import.

The object of these judgments from the sanctuary should be reviewed. The cases connected with the tabernacle in the wilderness were obviously all directed toward God's people. This is true whether individuals were singled out for judgment or whether large groups of people were involved. Considering how direct the relationship was between the tabernacle and the camp of Israel during the Exodus sojourn, it is only natural that more personally related judgments occurred in connection with the tabernacle during that period than in later Israelite history. The judgment upon Ahab in 1 Kings 22 is the most personal message of this type found in the later passages connected with the earthly and the heavenly temples. There are various messages of personal judgment borne by the prophets during the period of the monarchy, whether their objects were kings or other persons; but they were not related so directly to the sanctuary.

Beyond these personal judgments, a rather broad spectrum of judgments appear in these sanctuary-related passages. They break down into six different categories:

1. A favorable judgment upon the righteous. In the passages considered above this aspect of judgment appears by itself only in Psalm 103 where the judgment is set in the context of the heavenly temple.

2. A judgment which distinguishes between the righteous and the wicked in Israel. Psalm 14 (and Psalm 53—a duplicate of 14) relates such a judgment to the heavenly temple. Malachi 3, Ezekiel 10, and Psalms 50 and 73 relate this kind of judgment to the earthly temple.

3. A judgment given in favor of the righteous over against the wicked. This type of judgment occurs in the context of the heavenly temple of Psalms 11, 102. It also occurs in Joel 2–3 in the context of the earthly temple.

4. A judgment upon the sins of otherwise-righteous people. This appears in the setting of the earthly temple in Psalm 99.

5. An unfavorable judgment upon the wicked. This comes from the heavenly temple in the personal case of Ahab in 1 Kings 22. This same type of judgment from the same source is applied more generally in Micah 1. It should be remembered, however, that even though wicked Judah was judged worthy of exile, the prophetic promise that the remnant would return from exile was conveyed by the same prophet. This also holds true in the vision of Isaiah 6 which deals with judgment and the return of a remnant.

6. The six cases of judgments upon foreign nations are explicitly stated as having come from the sanctuary. The judgment of the Canaanites came from the heavenly temple (Ps 29), while the judgments upon Edom and Ethiopia came from the earthly temple (Ps 60 and Isa 18). The collection of foreign nations identified in Joel 3 were also judged from the earthly temple. Psalm 76 contains a general judgment upon unspecified foreign enemies which came from the heavenly temple, while in Psalm 9 judgment is identified as having come from the earthly temple.

The relationship between the work of the heavenly sanctuary and that of the earthly sanctuary is clarified when the judgment passages in the OT are analyzed within the categories described above. In four out of six of these categories the same types of judgments are identified as having come from both the earthly and the heavenly temples. It is in the first and third categories only that this generalization does not hold true, and in these instances only one passage can be cited as belonging to each category.

The most common types of judgment passages are those directed against the foreign nations and those which distinguish between the righteous and wicked among God's people. Six examples of the former and five of the latter have been collected. While the category of judgments on foreign nations is prominent, it should be noted that when the different types of judgments of God's people are collected together, they form a considerably larger corpus than the foreign.

Of the 20 judgment passages related to the earthly and the heavenly temple, the concern of 14 is with God's people, while six are concerned with the foreign nations. When the eight cases of judgment from the tabernacle are added, the ratio widens to 22 to 6. This ratio fits the general picture of judgment in the OT.

A study of the judgment passages within their larger categories indicates that God was concerned with *three* categories of persons in the world (rather than with just two, as some would insist). These three larger categories consist of the righteous in Israel, the wicked in Israel, and the nations. While the last two groups shared somewhat similar fates in terms of their judgments, they were brought together from different points of origin. Transfers from the third group to the first group were accomplished only on an individual basis. This occurred in the cases of Ruth, Uriah, Ebed-Melech, and others.

Not all of the corporate judgments upon foreign nations were unfavorable. There is, for example, the prophecy of the restoration of Egypt after its desolation in Ezekiel 29. Beyond this specific type of prophecy there was the much greater and more favorable prophetic view of the place these nations were to occupy in God's eschatological kingdom. One of the more prominent statements is found in the duplicate passages of Isaiah 2 and Micah 4. It is cited here because it refers to God's judgment of the nations from His temple:

> It shall come to pass in the latter days
>   that the mountain of the house of the Lord
>   shall be established as the highest of the mountains,
> and shall be raised upon above the hills;
>   and peoples shall flow to it,
> and many nations shall come, and say:
> "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,
>   to the house of the God of Jacob;
>   that he may teach us his ways
>   and we may walk in his paths."
> For out of Zion shall go forth the law,
>   and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.
> He shall judge between many peoples,
>   and shall decide for strong nations afar off;
>   and they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
>   and their spears into pruning hooks. (Mic 4:1–3)

When one comes to compare the judgment in Daniel with these aspects of judgments from the sanctuary elsewhere recorded in the OT, it is evident that Daniel's portrayal contains all of the essential elements of the latter. The judgment of foreign nations, category six above, is present in Daniel in the rise and fall of nations and in the final fall, as described in Daniel 2:44; 7:11–12, 26; 8:25, and 11:45.

Categories one and four above (which deal with the righteous) can be lumped with category two which distinguished between the righteous and the wicked among God's people. This is explicitly referred to in Daniel 12:1, 3 and is implied in Daniel 8:14. Category five, the rejection of some of the professed people of God, covers the unfavorable side of the judgment described under category two; this is also explicitly referred to in Daniel 12:2 and implied in Daniel 8:14.

Finally, the judgment in favor of God's people over and against their enemies, category three above, is the aspect of the judgment implied in Daniel 2:44 and more explicitly stated in Daniel 7:22.

Thus counterparts for all of the categories of judgment from the sanctuary in the OT are also found in the final judgment in Daniel. Just as a composite picture is developed by considering all of the sanctuary judgment passages outside of Daniel in the OT, so a composite picture of the final judgment must be developed by taking all of the judgment passages in Daniel into consideration.

As with the rest of the OT, these judgments are sometimes specifically identified as coming from the sanctuary and in other cases they are not. For example, the judgment passages in Daniel 2:44, 8:25, and 11:45 are not specifically connected with the sanctuary, whereas the judgment scenes in Daniel 7:9–13, 22, 26; 8:14, and 12:1 are. One difference in these two categories of texts in Daniel is that the judgment passages connected with the sanctuary are often more concerned with God's people than with the nations. However, since all judgment decisions issue from God, they may be viewed in the context of judgment from the sanctuary—God's dwelling.

Two of the significant differences between OT judgments in general and the final judgment depicted in Daniel involve time and scope. The judgments from the sanctuary in the OT passages studied above refer to judgments upon persons, peoples, or nations that were contemporary with the prophet who announced the judgments.

In Daniel, on the other hand, final judgment is located in the context of an apocalyptic framework, after the rise and fall of a series of nations and at the end of a specified period of prophetic time. Thus the other judgments in the OT and the judgment in Daniel were qualitatively similar but set in different time dimensions.

Another major difference is that of scope. These other OT judgments were localized in scope, dealing with different individuals, groups of people, or nations of the ancient Near East. However, the judgment in Daniel is more far-reaching, for it brings present human history to a close. It is cosmic in scope. The OT judgment passages outside of Daniel are a series of mini-judgments on the microcosmic scale, as it were. These lead up to, point to, and provide an earlier reflection of and parallel to the great final judgment on the macrocosmic scale as is described in Daniel (and the Revelation).

Since God convened His heavenly court to try his *rîb* or "covenant lawsuit" against His people on various occasions in OT times, should we not allow Him the freedom or even expect Him to do so at the end of our era? Thus while these OT judgments are qualitatively similar to the judgment in Daniel in the sense that similar levels or categories of judgment are found in both, they differ in scope and in terms of the chronological frame of reference in which they are found.

Of the 28 sanctuary judgment passages compiled from the OT, the closest parallel to the judgment in heaven at the present time is the investigative judgment of Judah described in Ezekiel 1–10. It is interesting to compare their respective chronological settings.

God established His people in the promised land of Canaan as described in the book of Joshua. For four centuries thereafter they lived under the leadership of judges and for another four centuries under the rule of kings. It was at the very end of this entire eight-century era that the final judgment was pronounced upon them in the vision given to Ezekiel. And this vision was given but a few short years before they were swept into exile away from the promised land God had given them.

The judgment depicted in Daniel occurs at a similar juncture, but in terms of the wider history of God's people and the world. It is dated at the "time of the end" of this era of human history, just prior to the ushering in of God's great eternal kingdom. On a smaller scale, therefore, the investigative judgment of Judah carried out in the earthly temple in Jerusalem occurred at an intermediate juncture in salvation history compared with the investigative judgment in the heavenly temple that was convened to conclude the final chapter in that history.

Chapter II

Why Antiochus IV Is Not the Little Horn of Daniel 8

Chapter Outline

I. Significance of the Interpretation
II. Daniel 7
III. Daniel 8
IV. Daniel 9
V. Daniel 11
VI. Summary

Significance of the Interpretation

The vision described in Daniel 8 may be outlined briefly as follows: The Persian ram appeared in the vision first, conquering to the north, west, and south (vss. 3–4). The Grecian goat with its principal horn came on the scene of action next. By defeating the Persian ram it became the dominant power in view (vss. 5–7). After reaching this position, however, the principal horn of the goat was broken and four horns, extending out to the four winds of heaven, came up in its place (vs. 8). Commentators concur that the contents of the vision thus far are relatively straightforward, since these four horns can be identified readily with the four kings, and the kingdoms derivative from them, who divided the empire conquered by Alexander.

The interpretation of the next main element in the vision is more controversial. Another horn ("a little horn") which came either from one of the four winds or from one of the four horns appeared on the scene. The attack which this horn launched was not directed so much against other beasts or kingdoms as against God's people, identified here as "the host of the stars" (vss. 10, 24). It was also directed against God's work of redemption in the form of the *tāmîḏ* (daily) and the temple (vss. 11–12), and against God's principal representative—"the Prince of the host," "the Prince of princes" (vss. 11, 25).

Daniel then heard two heavenly beings discussing what he had seen. One asked the other, "For how long is the vision concerning the [*tāmîḏ*], the transgression that makes desolate, and the giving over of the sanctuary and host to be trampled under foot?" The answer given was, "Unto two thousand and three hundred evening-mornings, then the sanctuary shall be cleansed/restored" (tr. mine).

Crucial to the interpretation of Daniel 8:9–14 is the identification of this little horn which was to do all these things against God and His people. In their attempt to identify the little horn commentators have applied the methods advanced by the preterist, futurist, and historicist schools of prophetic interpretation.

Preterists are committed to the view that the majority of the prophecies of the book of Daniel have already been fulfilled and, therefore, have no significance for the present day. Thus they hold that the little horn rose from one of the divisions of Alexander's empire. They conclude that the activities of the little horn unmistakably point to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Futurists generally follow this line of interpretation also. In addition, they see Antiochus as a type of an end-time antichrist who is to arise in the final years of earth's history before Christ's second advent.

Historicists, on the other hand, declare that the prophecies in Daniel portray an outline of human and ecclesiastical history and the story of the struggle between good and evil down to the end of time. Since a flow of history appears to be involved here, especially when this chapter is compared with the previous one, the historicist holds that the little horn represents Rome—in its pagan and papal phases.

Just as there are three main identifications for the little horn, so three main applications have been made of the time period referred to in this passage. Preterists have proposed that the 2300 "evening-mornings" should be interpreted as 2300 individual morning and evening sacrifices, or 1150 literal days. These should be applied to events in the career of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the second century B.C.

Utilizing the day-for-a-year principle, historicists have held that this datum refers to a period of 2300 years which began sometime in the fifth century B.C. and ended in the nineteenth century A.D.

As a type of the work of the final antichrist, some futurists have applied the "evening-mornings" as literal evenings and mornings, or 2300 days, which they claim have not yet begun, because the final manifestation of an antichrist belongs to the future.

How is this prophecy dealing with a sanctuary to be interpreted? Preterists claim it refers to the purification of the temple in Jerusalem which was polluted by Antiochus in the second century B.C.

Since the earthly temple was destroyed in A.D. 70 (and this prophetic time period extends beyond this datum), historicists see in it a reference to the temple in heaven. As the principal representatives of historicist thought Seventh-day Adventists have understood the cleansing of Daniel 8:14 as a reference to the heavenly antitype of the cleansing of the earthly sanctuary which occurred in ancient Israel on the Day of Atonement. Since this was a day of judgment in Israel, the antitypical cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary has been interpreted as the time for a preadvent investigative judgment of God's people.

This position is quite different from that of the interpreters of the futurist school who hold that during the final seven years of earth's history a literal temple (to be rebuilt in Jerusalem) will be polluted by an antichrist. It will be cleansed or restored when Christ comes and puts an end to his nefarious reign.

These three views on the interpretation of the various elements in Daniel 8:9–14 may be summarized as follows:

Element	**Preterist**	**Historicist**	**Futurist**
1. *Little horn*	Antiochus IV	Rome	Future Antichrist
2. *2300 days*	Literal days past	Prophetic years	Literal days future
3. *Temple*	Earthly	Heavenly	Earthly
4. *Cleansing*	From past defilement	Judgment	From future defilement

This brief review of the various interpretations, as proposed by the three main schools of prophetic interpretation, makes it clear that widely varying conclusions concerning the nature of the events predicted in this passage of prophecy have been reached. Of particular importance in this study is the nature of the event that is to occur at the end of the 2300 days.

If one follows the first school of thought, the prescribed purification was all completed before January 1, 164 B.C. If one follows the second line of interpretation, it refers to a judgment going on now in heaven. This has not yet happened, according to the third view. When it does, events in Jerusalem and Israel will be involved. Considering the magnitude of these differences in interpretation and the importance of the events to which they refer, it is evident that these verses in Daniel need to be carefully examined. They demand our closest attention.

In order to properly evaluate the passage dealing with the little horn in Daniel 8 it is necessary to understand it in the context of the book. This is because the prophecies of Daniel parallel each other to a large extent. Consequently, a sound procedure would be to examine the prophecies of chapters 7, 9, 11, and 12 where they are relevant to the discussion.

Daniel 7

If we inquire of the various schools of interpretation as to how they identify the different beasts of Daniel 7, we will discover that all are agreed that the lion represents Babylon (vs. 4). The historicist and futurist schools identify the bear as Medo-Persia, while the preterist school, which is essentially comprised of critical scholars, identifies it as Media only (vs. 5). Thus while the historicist and futurist schools continue in the sequence to identify the leopard and the nondescript beast as Greece and Rome, the preterist lags one step behind, identifying them as Persia and Greece (vss. 6–7).

Historicists and futurists finally diverge when they come to the little horn. The former identify it as the papal horn which came out of pagan Rome. The latter, holding to a gap in the flow of prophetic history, identify it as the final and still-future antichrist (vs. 8). Since they end their fourth beast series with Greece, preterists identify the little horn growing out of this beast as Antiochus IV.

There are, of course, variations in the applications made by individual commentators within each of these schools of prophetic interpretation, but these variations are not of real significance to us here. The essential difference for our present purpose is the divergence that has developed over the interpretation of the second beast and the consequences that flow from that divergence into the interpretation of the subsequent beast-nations.

By dividing Media from Persia, preterists have shortened this prophetic scheme to the point where Antiochus IV developed out of the Grecian beast as the little horn in the second century B.C. The other main scheme which identifies the second beast as a joint symbol for the combined kingdom of Media and Persia ends one historical step farther down the road with Rome as the fourth beast. These schemes and this particular difference can be outlined as on the following page:

	Preterist	**Historicist**	**Futurist**
Lion	Babylon	Babylon	Babylon
Bear	Media	Medo-Persia	Medo-Persia
Leopard	Persia	Greece	Greece
Non-descript beast	Greece	Rome	Rome
Little horn	Antiochus IV	Papacy	Final antichrist

Since the interpretation of the symbols for these nations has a direct bearing upon the identification of the little horn in Daniel 7, these beast-nations must be identified before an interpretation can be proposed for the little horn that issued from the fourth one.

One of the principal supporting arguments relied upon by preterists here is that the author of Daniel committed a historical blunder when he referred to Darius the Mede in 5:31–6:28 and 9:1. The argument runs as follows: Although no such figure is known from history, Daniel's reference to him thereby allowed for a separate Median kingdom between the Neo-Babylonian rulers, Nabonidus and Belshazzar, on the one hand, and the Persian king, Cyrus, on the other. The foremost presentation of this view is found in H. H. Rowley's *Darius the Mede and the Four Kingdoms*,[1] which is dedicated to the proposition of proving this historical error in order to sustain the preterist interpretation of these prophetic symbols.

Rowley's classical conclusion is that "there is no room in history for Darius the Mede." Unfortunately, he did not study the relevant cuneiform sources directly but relied on secondary treatments of them. As I have pointed out in my study of the royal titles used in the Neo-Babylonian contract tablets written early in the reign of Cyrus,[2] there is room in history for Darius the Mede; and the amount of room available for him is delimited quite precisely.

The title "King of Babylon" was not used for Cyrus in the contract tablets dated to him during the first year after Babylon's conquest in October 539 B.C. Only the title "King of Lands" was used for him, and this referred to him in his capacity as king of the Persian Empire. Late in 538 B.C., however, the scribes added the title "King of Babylon" to his titulary, and it continued to be in use through the rest of his reign and those of his successors down to the time of Xerxes.

There are only two possibilities here. Either there was an interregnum and the throne of Babylon went unoccupied for a year, or somebody else besides Cyrus occupied the throne for that period of time. In my opinion, the prime candidate for this other king of Babylon is Ugbaru, the general whose troops conquered Babylon for Cyrus. According to the Nabonidus Chronicle, he appointed governors in Babylonia (compare Dan 6:1) and he resided in Babylon until he died there a year later, one month before the title "King of Babylon" was added to Cyrus' titulary.

Ugbaru could have been reasonably well advanced in age by the time of his death, a circumstance which would fit with the age of 62 for Darius the Mede (Dan 5:31). Cuneiform sources do not provide us with any information about his father, Ahasuerus, or his ethnic origin as a Mede (Dan 9:1). Darius could have been Ugbaru's throne name, as the use of throne names is known both in Babylon and Persia. The logical explanation why the dates in Daniel progress from the first year of Darius the Mede (9:1) to the third year of Cyrus (10:1) is that Darius died in the interval. This harmonizes satisfactorily with the cuneiform evidence.

While the case has not been proven conclusively for lack of direct reference to Darius the Mede in a cuneiform text, it should be kept in mind that by far the greater portion of Neo-Babylonian contract tablets are still unpublished; 18,000 of them from Sippar, for example, are in the British Museum. Even without the publication of those tablets a reasonable hypothesis for him can be made out of the published tablets.

One must also keep in mind how very fragmentary the picture of the past still is which has been recovered thus far from the ancient Near East. Thus the critical view that the author of Daniel blundered in identifying a Median king of Babylon has not been sustained by the historical sources of the sixth century B.C. On the contrary, the detailed knowledge of the history of Babylon of this period being revealed in this and other passages in the book of Daniel argues strongly that the author was an eyewitness to those events.

Lacking historical support for their interpretation of the second beast of Daniel 7, preterists must fall back on the interpretation of the symbols themselves. What has commonly been done here, as in the recent Anchor Bible volume on *Daniel*,[3] is to emend the text by transposing the phrase about the three ribs in the mouth of the bear forward, so that the ribs end up in the mouth of the lion instead. On the other hand, the phrases relating to a change in the lion are transferred to the bear. Thus the bear receives the heart of a man and stands on his hind legs, not on one side. This altered bear is then supposed to refer to the only ruler of the fictitious Median kingdom that the author of Daniel presumably knew—Darius the Mede.

In contrast to this garbling of history and of the text in support of a theory, the historicist interpretation of these symbols seems most reasonable. The raising up of the bear, first on one side and then the other, can be seen quite naturally as a reference to the composite nature of the kingdom formed by a fusion of the Medes and Persians. When left in the bear's mouth, the three ribs may reasonably be taken as representing the three major conquests of the combined forces of the Medes and Persians in the sixth century B.C.: Lydia in 547, Babylon in 539, and Egypt in 525.

Support for this interpretation in Daniel 7 can be found on the basis of the interpretation of the ram in Daniel 8. Its two disproportionate horns are specifically identified as the kings of Media and Persia (vs. 20), expressing the same duality that is found in the prophet's view of the bear in chapter 7. The tripartite nature of the ram's conquests also parallels the three ribs in the mouth of the bear, since it expanded to the north (Lydia), to the west (Babylon), and to the south (Egypt).

The parallels between these two beasts support the interpretation of the former already arrived at from its context in Daniel 7, namely, that the bear represents Medo-Persia. This means that the nondescript beast, the fourth in order there, must represent Rome; therefore, the little horn that came from it cannot represent Antiochus IV.

From this conclusion about the little horn in Daniel 7, the next main question is, What is its relationship to the little horn in Daniel 8? Could the little horn in Daniel 8 still be Antiochus Epiphanes even though the little horn in Daniel 7 does not represent him?

Among historicist and futurist interpreters there have been a significant number who have opted for different interpretations of these two figures. Virtually all of the pre-Millerite interpreters of the historicist school from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries referred to by L. E. Froom in volumes 3 and 4 of *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*[4] identified the little horn of Daniel 7 as the papacy. Only half of them identified the little horn in Daniel 8 the same way. The other half interpreted it as Mohammedanism.

A similar split can be seen among futurist interpreters of today. Some of them identify the little horn of Daniel 7 as the future antichrist and the little horn of Daniel 8 as Antiochus IV. Thus the possibility should be left open and not ruled out *a priori* that these two prophetic symbols could refer to different historical entities.

On the other hand, there are significant arguments in favor of identifying the little horns in these two chapters as the same historical entity. First, the fact that the same symbol was used for both of them, whether in Aramaic (chap. 7) or in Hebrew (chap. 8), suggests at the outset that there could well be a connection between them. If a historical distinction had been intended here, the best way would have been to use a different symbol, but the symbol remained the same.

Second, the powers represented by this same prophetic symbol both engage in similar actions: Both appear to arise at a somewhat similar time in history; both begin small and become great (7:8 and 8:9); both are blasphemous powers (7:8, 25 and 8:11, 25); both persecute the saints of God (7:21, 25 and 8:11, 25); both appear to endure for protracted periods of prophetic time (7:25 and 8:14); and both eventually suffer similar fates (7:26 and 8:25).

Thus when two powers represented by the same prophetic symbol arise and carry out the same kinds of action in the same time slot in the flow of the visions, the probabilities appear to be on the side of those commentators who have identified them as the same historical entity. Some of the aspects of the work of the little horn in chapter 7 are not mentioned in chapter 8, and vice versa. The number of correspondences between them, however, is greater than those aspects of their work not mentioned in both passages. None of these individual characteristics are mutually exclusive so as to rule out the possibility that they could refer to the same power.

Third, the book of Daniel indicates that its later prophecies were intended to be explanations of its earlier prophecies. This is evident from their parallel order, the interpretations given in them that deal with the same world powers, their similar imagery, and their similar phraseology. Furthermore, the book itself specifically states this in at least two instances (9:22–23 and 10:1, 14). Not only has the principle of amplification or expansion upon materials from the earlier visions in the later visions been recognized by virtually all commentators on the book, but it also provides a potential explanation for some of the differences between those prophecies.

The prophecy conveyed by a dream in Daniel 2 was given primarily to Nebuchadnezzar. Although the same vision was repeated to Daniel so that he could explain it to the king (2:19), he functioned essentially in that context as a wise man who interpreted the dream of the king. The vision of chapter 7, on the other hand, was given directly and personally to Daniel half a century later. Consequently, Daniel came to serve God as a full-fledged prophet in his own right. Being the first of the four main prophecies given to Daniel, it is quite natural that the vision of chapter 7 stands out as the major outline of the future. Thus all of the subsequent prophecies related to him can be seen as amplifying this main original prophetic outline.

In this context, the vision of chapter 8 can be seen as an amplification of the vision of chapter 7. Even the datelines on the prophecies support that point. The visions of chapters 7 and 8 came together as one pair grouped two years apart (7:1; 8:1). The prophecies of a more didactic nature in chapters 9–12 formed a unit as a second pair grouped two years apart (9:1; 10:1). But the second pair of didactic prophecies came a decade later than the original pair of visionary prophecies.

Thus the *vision* of chapter 8 elaborates on the *vision* of chapter 7, while the *explanations* given in chapters 9–12 elaborate on the visions. Their explanations began already in chapters 7 and 8. This is another way of saying that all the prophetic imagery God wished to convey was in place by the time the vision of chapter 8 had been received. The final supplement to the basic vision had been given and no further visions in terms of prophetic symbols were necessary.

With the vision of chapter 8 standing in this relation to the vision of chapter 7, certain details of the basic vision could be further elaborated. It also means that other details did not have to be repeated. The clearest case of this comes from the fact that there is no beast to represent Babylon in Daniel 8. The common explanation is that the Neo-Babylonian empire was drawing to a close. Therefore, it did not need to be represented again. This is not entirely accurate from the human point of view.

The Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus state that he spent a decade at Tema in Arabia before returning to Babylon to defend it against the onslaught of Cyrus. The Verse Account of Nabonidus states that he entrusted the kingship of Babylon to his son Belshazzar when he took off on that journey. It was early during this regency of Belshazzar in Babylon that Daniel received *both* of these visions. The precise date when Nabonidus returned to Babylon is not known, but it could not have been any later than 540 B.C., the year before Babylon fell to the Persians. He could have returned there earlier, but this point cannot be determined with accuracy because of the damaged condition of Nabonidus Chronicle.

We estimate, therefore, that the vision of chapter 7 was given to Daniel around 550 B.C., and the vision of chapter 8 was given to him about 548 B.C. Even by the time Daniel had received this second vision Nabonidus still felt that his empire was sufficiently safe for him to spend another seven years in Tema. Judging by the stituation in Babylon at that time, it is not at all clear that the Neo-Babylonian Empire was passing off the scene of action by the time Daniel's vision of chapter 8 was given. From the divine perspective, the Neo-Babylonian Empire was already doomed, but it was not yet evident in terms of human political circumstances experienced by Daniel and others living in Babylon at that time.

Instead of deleting Babylon from the vision because it was passing off the scene of action, it could equally well have been deleted because there was no further need to elaborate on the prophetic imagery used for Babylon in the first vision. As we follow the order in whch God presented the elements of these visions, we may rather say that Babylon was deleted from the second vision not because the human political circumstances had already experienced dramatic changes, but because God desired to elaborate on other parts of the primary vision. Medo-Persia had already been introduced as the successor to Babylon in the first vision, and it was not necessary to repeat this point in the second.

A similar point can be made from the prophecy of chapter 11. With respect to the Persian kings, the angel says, "Behold, three more kings shall arise in Persia; and a fourth shall be far richer than all of them; and when he has become strong through his riches, he shall stir up all against the kingdom of Greece" (vs. 2). It is clear that the fourth king mentioned is Xerxes and his invasion of Greece. At this point the focus shifts from Persia to Greece.

The next verse clearly outlines the actions of Alexander the Great, and the succeeding verse portrays the breakup of his kingdom in terms similar to Daniel 7:6 and 8:8, 22 (vss. 3, 4). The question arises then as to what happens to the rest of the Persian kings. Seven kings ruled Persia after Xerxes: Artaxerxes I, Darius II, Xerxes II, Artaxerxes II, Artaxerxes III, Arses, and Darius III. Why aren't these seven other kings mentioned in this prophecy?

Is it true, as some critical scholars argue, that the author of Daniel knew of only four Persian kings because only four are mentioned by name in the Bible? We believe not. It is probable that any reasonably well-informed citizen of Palestine in the second century B.C. (the date critical scholars give for the writing of the book of Daniel) would have known about some of the later Persian kings. The papyri from the Wadi Daliyeh indicate that the people of Samaria were dating documents there to the last two Persian kings at least. Thus this information should have been common knowledge a century and a half later. We conclude that this criticism of Daniel is ill-founded and does not provide an adequate explanation for this problem.

Any attempt to solve the problem will have to come to grips with a basic principle for interpreting Daniel's apocalyptic prophecy. That principle is this: it is only necessary to continue with one kingdom, or line of kings, until the new one of importance is introduced on the scene of action. It is not necessary to describe the whole history of the earlier kingdom.

For example, the reason the Persian kings are only listed down to Xerxes is that it was he who by his wars against Greece caused it to rebound and to become a reputable power in the Near East. After this critical turning point in history the rest of the Persian kings no longer held any great prophetic significance and so were not mentioned.

A similar point can be made about the Seleucids and Ptolemies referred to in this same prophecy. Regardless of which school of interpretation one follows for the balance of Daniel 11, it is very unlikely that all the kings of the houses of Seleucus and Ptolemy are referred to in this prophecy. They are only listed down to the point where the next and more significant power is introduced. According to one school of thought, it is Antiochus IV. Another holds that it is Rome.

The same hermeneutic can be applied here. Power *A* is only of interest and significance in the visions or their explanations up to the point when Power *B* is introduced on the scene of action. The prophecy then takes up the details of Power *B*. It is not necessary to list the entire line of rulers/history of Power *A*. One must bear in mind, however, that the transition from Power *A* to Power *B* is not always sharply delineated.

The setting in which the little horn arose in Daniel 8 may now be viewed in the light of these parallels from earlier ones in the same chapter as well as from chapter 11. There is not just one beast or kingdom missing from this vision. There are, in fact, two beasts missing, namely, Babylon and Rome. From the full vision in chapter 7 with four beasts and a little horn a reduction down to two beasts and the little horn has taken place. Evidently, further details concerning the two deleted beasts were not considered to be necessary and the details added here concentrate on the little horn.

In a similar manner, in Daniel 8 the four horns' expansion to the four winds was considered to be an adequate basis upon which to introduce the same little horn into the scene of action in this supplementary vision. It was not necessary to spell out everything that happened in the interim between the visions.

Once the transition has been made in this way, everything that follows concentrates on elaborating details concerning the little horn. This point is emphasized by the fact that the vision in chapter 8 was given a title which is related to the activity of that horn in verse 26 ("the vision of the evenings and the mornings").

The information available from Daniel 7 bearing on the question as to whether the little horn of Daniel 8 should be identified as Antiochus IV Epiphanes may now be summarized. First, the historicist position identifying the fourth beast of Daniel 7 as Rome seems to be a sound one. This means that the little horn coming out of Rome cannot be Antiochus IV. If the little horns of Daniel 7 and 8 refer to the same historical entity, we must conclude that the little horn of Daniel 8 cannot be Antiochus either.

Three important aspects support our conclusions. First, the same symbolic terminology is applied to both powers. Second, both are described as carrying out similar activities. Third, the general consideration that the later prophecies in the book of Daniel amplify his earlier prophecies.

In the light of this evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that the treatment of the little horn in Daniel 8 should amplify the statement concerning the little horn in Daniel 7 rather than introduce another entity. The third line of evidence noted above also explains why it was unnecessary to repeat in chapter 8 all the details of the vision in chapter 7.

These three related aspects concerning the little horns in chapters 7 and 8 make it probable that both refer to the same historical entity; but they do not prove that point conclusively. In order to reach a more definitive position, we must study the little horn in the context of the chapter 8 vision itself. Furthermore, it will be necessary to relate to it information that is available from the later prophecies of Daniel.

Daniel 8

Since Antiochus IV is commonly identified with the little horn of Daniel 8, arguments favoring this identification will be considered first.

Arguments in Favor of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Little Horn

Antiochus was a Seleucid king. As one of this dynasty of kings, he could have proceeded from one of the four horns referred to in Daniel 8:8—provided that was the little horn's origin.

Antiochus' succession was irregular. If the phrase, "but not with his power [*welō bekōḥô*]," at the beginning of Daniel 8:24 is original with the MT (the Hebrew Masoretic text of the OT) and not a dittography or scribal repetition from the end of verse 22, it would suggest that, historically speaking, the little horn came to power through an irregular succession.

A son of Seleucus IV Philopator should have succeeded to the rule after his father's assassination by the courtier Heliodorus. However, the king's brother, Antiochus IV, came to the throne instead, aided by the armies of Pergamos. It is possible to apply the phrase "but not by his own power" to this course of events.

Antiochus persecuted the Jews

Antiochus polluted the Jerusalem temple and disrupted its services. However, it remains to be seen whether in fact he did all the things against the temple that Daniel 8 says the little horn did.

There are, therefore, two reasonably straightforward arguments in favor of identifying the little horn as Antiochus IV: his irregular succession and his persecution of the Jews. There are two other arguments which may possibly support that identification, but they must be qualified to some extent. These have to do with his origin and his desecration of the temple. The question here is whether these four points, two reasonably straightforward and two qualified, provide a sound basis for making this identification. On the other side of this question there are a number of arguments from Daniel 8 against equating Antiochus IV with the little horn. Most of these are relatively well-known but will be repeated here. Some will require amplification.

Arguments Against Antiochus IV Epiphanes as the Little Horn

Nature of the little horn—a kingdom:

***The horn as a symbol for king/kingdom*.** Daniel 8:23 identifies the little horn as a "king." But the question may be raised whether the term was not intended to stand for a "kingdom" rather than for a single "king." Several points suggest this possibility. Since the four preceding horns are identified as kingdoms in verse 22, one might expect them to be succeeded by another kingdom rather than an individual king. The two horns on the Persian ram represented the "kings of Media and Persia;" that is, the dynastic houses that ruled those nations (vs. 20).

Going back to chapter 7, the historicist interpretation of the little horn suggests that it represents the papacy which came up among the horn-nations of Europe that resulted from the breakup of the Roman Empire-beast. It should also be noted in chapter 7 that whereas the four beasts were referred to as "four kings" (vs. 17), they were understood to represent kingdoms and not individual monarchs (vs. 23). The same concept is evident as early as chapter 2, where Nebuchadnezzar was told that he was the head of gold to be succeeded by another kingdom (Dan 2:38–39).

The only place among these symbols where one can clearly point to the identification of a horn as an individual king is in the case of Alexander, represented by the great horn of the Grecian he-goat (Dan 8:21). Alexander's horn, of course, did not come up from the other horns of the goat. If the little horn of Daniel 8 came out of another horn and is interpreted as a king, such an interpretation would prove to be unique among this series of symbols. Although this point is not definitive when studied in isolation, it seems more reasonable to assume that the little horn represents a corporate kingdom rather than an individual king.

Comparative greatness of the little horn. The Persian ram "magnified himself" (8:4); the Grecian goat "magnified himself exceedingly" (8:8). By contrast the little horn magnified itself exceedingly in different directions. On the horizontal level it "grew exceedingly great" toward the south, east, and glorious land. On the vertical plane it "grew great ... to the host of heaven," and ultimately "magnified itself ... up to the Prince of the host" (8:9–11).

The verb "to be great," *gādal*, occurs only once each with Persia and Greece, but it appears three times with the little horn. In view of this verbal usage and the adverb for "excessively," which accompanies it in the first instance, it is evident that this is a progression from the comparative to the superlative. Translating this into historical terms means that Antiochus IV should have exceeded the Persian and Greek Empires in greatness. Obviously, this was not the case, since he ruled only one portion of the Grecian Empire with but little success.

This argument finds further support as we return to the parallel of the little horn in Daniel 7. There we discover another point which militates against the identification of the little horn with Antiochus IV, the judgment scene. It seems unlikely that the heavenly court would have been called into session on such a grand scale in order to judge Antiochus IV. A setting far less glamorous, such as Micaiah ben Imlah's prediction concerning Ahab in 1 Kings 22, should have been adequate for Antiochus IV. To say it differently, because of its grandeur the vision of the heavenly court session in Daniel 7 would not at all match the political and religious importance of the party being judged there, if that little horn were Antiochus. Given the parallels between the little horns of Daniel 7 and 8, this merely emphasizes the disparity between Antiochus IV and the superlative greatness of the little horn in Daniel 8.

Activities of the little horn:

***Conquests*.** The horn "grew exceedingly great toward the south, toward the east, and toward the glorious land."

***To the south*.** Antiochus III was the king who added Palestine to the territory ruled by the Seleucids when he defeated the Ptolemaic forces at Paneas in 198 B.C. Antiochus IV attempted to extend his southern frontier into Egypt with the campaign of 170–168 B.C. He was successful in conquering most of the Delta in 169 B.C. The following year (168 B.C.) he marched on Alexandria to undertake its siege, but was turned back by a Roman diplomatic mission and had to abandon his Egyptian conquests. Thus his partial success in Egypt was transitory, and it is doubtful that he really did grow "exceedingly great toward the south."

***To the east*.** Antiochus III subjugated the east with his victorious campaigns of 210–206 B.C. that took him to the frontier of India. Most of the territories involved rebelled and became independent, however, after the Romans defeated him at Magnesia.

Antiochus IV attempted to regain some of this territory during the eastern campaign he conducted in the last two years of his reign. After some initial diplomatic and military successes in Armenia and Media, however, he found himself unable to make further headway against the Parthians. He died during the course of his campaign against the latter, apparently from natural causes, in the winter of 164/3 B.C.

While Antiochus IV did have some initial successes, he did not accomplish nearly as much in this area as Antiochus III; and this project was left incomplete at the point of his death. It is open to question, therefore, as to what extent these partial and incomplete military successes match the prophetic prediction concerning the little horn as "growing exceedingly great" toward the east.

***To the glorious land*.** Antiochus IV is noted in 1 Maccabees 1–6 as the Seleucid ruler who desecrated the temple and persecuted the Jews. This did not occur because of any conquest of his own, but because Antiochus III had already taken Palestine away from the Ptolemies in 198 B.C. He could not have "grown exceedingly great toward the glorious land," Judea presumably, in any sense of conquest or acquiring control of it by military action. He could have "[grown] exceedingly" only in the sense of exercising or abusing his control over it, since it was already part of his kingdom when he came to the throne.

Although Antiochus IV was not the conquerer of Palestine, the defeats his forces suffered there toward the end of his reign started the course of events that eventually led to the complete independence of Judea from the Seleucids. While he himself was campaigning in the east, his Palestinian forces suffered defeats at Emmaus (1 Macc 3:57) and Beth-zur (1 Macc 4:29) in Judea. Toward the end of 164 B.C. the Jews liberated the polluted temple from Seleucid hands and rededicated it (1 Macc 5:52). Antiochus died in the east shortly thereafter, early in 163 B.C. (1 Macc 6:15).

***Summary*.** Antiochus IV never captured Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, but he enjoyed military successes in Lower Egypt during his campaigns from 169 to 167 B.C. However, he had to forsake these briefly held, ill-gotten gains, due to diplomatic pressure from the Romans. Only the first part of his campaign toward the east was successful. He died before he had carried out his plans for that region to consolidate his control over it.

Although he bore down harder on the Jews than had his predecessors, he was not the one who brought Judea into the Seleucid Empire, since it was already part of that dominion when he came to the throne. The three defeats his forces suffered there shortly before he died signaled developments that ultimately led to Judea's independence.

The net results of what Antiochus accomplished in these three geographical spheres was rather negligible and even negative in some cases. Thus he does not fit very well the specification of this prophecy which states that the little horn was to grow "exceedingly great toward the south, toward the east, and toward the glorious land."

Anti-temple activities. It is fair to say that Antiochus took away the *tāmîḏ*, the "daily" or "continual." It holds true if applied to the continual burnt offering that was offered twice daily on the altar of the temple, or to the ministration of the priests who offered those and other sacrifices. Nevertheless, the phrase, "the place of his sanctuary was cast down" (8:11, KJV), which indicates what was done to the temple building itself by the little horn, does not fit the activities of Antiochus. The word used for "place" (Hebrew, *mākôn*) is both interesting and important. It occurs in the Hebrew Bible 17 times. In every instance but one it refers to the place where God dwells or the site upon which His throne rests.

This word appears first in the Bible in the "Song of the Sea" which the Israelites sang on the shore of the Red Sea after their deliverance from Pharaoh's army (Exod 15:17). In that song God's *mākôn* is identified as the place where he would establish His abode, that is, His sanctuary in the promised land. The term appears four times in the address Solomon gave when the temple was dedicated (see 1 Kings 8 and its parallel passage of 2 Chronicles 6). Once the king uses the term to refer to the temple; three times it denotes God's dwelling place in heaven (1 Kgs 8:13, 39, 43, 49).

In Psalm 33:14 the word likewise is used for God's dwelling in heaven. Three other texts employ *mākôn* to refer to the place of God's dwelling on earth. It occurs twice in Isaiah, once referring to the location of God's earthly abode on Mount Zion (Isa 4:5), and once referring to the place from which God looked upon Ethiopia in judgment (18:4), presumably the earthly temple again. In Ezra 2:68 it was used more specifically for the place upon which God's earthly temple was to be rebuilt. In Psalms 89:14 and 97:2 this word was used in the metaphorical sense. Justice and righteousness are said to be the "foundation" of His throne.

Aside from this occurrence in Daniel, therefore, *mākôn* is used seven times for the place of God's dwelling in heaven, six times for the place of His earthly dwelling, and twice for the place of His throne in a metaphorical sense. The only instance where this word was not used for God's dwelling place, whether earthly or heavenly, is Psalm 104:5 where it is used poetically for the "foundations" upon which the earth was set.

It was this "place" of God's sanctuary that was to be cast down by the little horn, according to Daniel 8:11. One could apply this to what the Romans did to the temple in A.D. 70. But Antiochus never did anything to the temple which would qualify as "casting down its *mākôn*," or "place." Desecrate it he did; but, as far as is known, he did not damage its architecture in any significant way.

On the contrary, it would have been to his disadvantage to have done so, since he turned it over to be used for the cult of Zeus. Thus while it is fair to say that Antiochus suspended the daily or continual sacrifices/ministration of the temple, we have no indication that he cast it down from its place, or cast down its place. Consequently, this aspect of the prophecy is in opposition to the interpretation of the little horn as Antiochus IV.

Time factors for the little horn:

***Time of origin*.** The rise of the little horn is dated in terms of the four kingdoms which came from Alexander's empire. It was to come up "at the latter end of their rule" (8:23).

The Seleucid dynasty consisted of a line of more than 20 kings who ruled from 311 to 65 B.C. Antiochus IV was the eighth in line, and he ruled from 175 to 164/3 B.C. Since more than a dozen Seleucids ruled after him and fewer than a dozen ruled before him, he can hardly be said to have arisen "at the latter end of their rule."

It would be more correct to fix the period of his rule in the middle of the dynasty; and chronology supports this argument. The Seleucids ruled for a century and a third before Antiochus IV and a century after him. This fact places this particular ruler within two decades of the midpoint of the dynasty. Thus Antiochus IV did not arise "at the latter end of their rule."

***Duration*.** The chronological datum given in the question and answer of Daniel 8:13–14 has been interpreted as giving the length of time Antiochus IV was to have desecrated the temple or persecuted the Jews. Precise dates are available for the disruption of the temple services and its pollution. The pagan idol was set up on the altar of burnt offering on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the 145th year of the Seleucid Era, and pagan sacrifices began there ten days later (1 Macc 1:54, 59).

On the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month in the 148th year of the Seleucid era a newly built altar was consecrated and the celebrations continued for eight days thereafter (1 Macc 4:52, 54). Thus a period of three years, or three years and ten days, was involved here. Neither 2300 literal days (six years, four and two-thirds months) nor 1150 literal days (made by pairing evening and morning sacrifices to make full days) fits this historical period, since even the shorter of the two is two months too long.

Various attempts have been made to explain this discrepancy. None of them are satisfactory. The troops of Antiochus did sack the temple, though, on their way back from Egypt two years earlier, but that still falls a year and a half short of the longer period.

Since a connection between this time period and the temple is lacking, it has been suggested that it should be interpreted as referring to persecution. Menelaus (one of two rival Jewish high priests) talked Andronicus, an official of Antiochus, into killing Onias, a former high priest (2 Macc 4:34). This might have occurred in 170 B.C. (2 Macc 4:23), or six and one-half years (2300 days) before the cleansing of the temple late in 164 B.C. When he heard about it, Antiochus executed Andronicus (2 Macc 4:38).

Thereafter, Menelaus and his brother Lysimachus led a fight against some of the Jews who opposed them. This was not a Seleucid persecution. It was partisan Jewish in-fighting, and Antiochus executed his own official for his part in the affair. Thus neither the 2300 days nor the 1150 days fits Antiochus' desecration of the temple or his persecution of the Jews as some of the more candid critical commentators readily acknowledge.

The other way to look at the relationship of this time period to Antiochus is by taking the historicist interpretation into account. That school of prophetic interpretation utilizes the day-for-a-year principle for time periods found in apocalyptic contexts. If this position (see chap. 3) is correct, it means that we are dealing with a period of 2300 years, not 2300 literal days. Regardless of where one begins in the B.C. era, it is obvious that they must extend far beyond the narrow chronological confines of Antiochus' one-decade reign in the second century B.C.

***The End*.** When Gabriel came to Daniel to explain the vision of chapter 8, he introduced his explanation with the statement, "Understand, O son of man, that the vision is for the time of the end" (8:17). At the beginning of his actual explanation Gabriel again emphasized this point by stating, "Behold, I will make known to you what shall be at the latter end of the indignation; for it pertains to the appointed time of the end" (8:19). The phrases, "the time of the end" and "the appointed time of the end," are also essential for a correct identity of the little horn.

Since the third and final section of the vision is concerned mainly with the little horn and its activities, it seems reasonable to conclude that the horn relates most directly to the "time of the end." The end of the little horn, therefore, should coincide in one way or another with "the time of the end."

At a bare chronological minimum Daniel's time prophecies (Dan 9:24–27) had to extend to the time of the Messiah in the first century A.D. "The time of the end" could only arrive some time *after* the fulfillment of that prophecy. Therefore, there is no way for Antiochus' death in 164/3 B.C. to be made to coincide with "the time of the end" when the little horn was to come to its end.

Nature of the end of the little horn. According to the prophecy, the little horn was to come to its end in a particular way, "But, by no human hand, he shall be broken" (8:25). This phraseology sounds somewhat similar to the description of the fate for the king of the north in Daniel 11:45—"he shall come to his end, with none to help him." The end to the little horn in Daniel 7 was to come about by a decision of God in the heavenly court. In Daniel 2 the image was brought to an end by a stone that smote the image on its feet, and that stone was cut out without the assistance of any human hand (Dan 2:45).

The conclusions to the prophecies in Daniel 2, 7, 8, and 11 are all to be brought about by God's direct intervention in human history. Given the nature of the statement in 8:25 (and its parallels in the other prophecies of Daniel), it is difficult to see how Antiochus IV could fulfill this particular specification. As far as is known (compare 1 Macc 6:8–17), he died of natural causes—not in battle nor from extraordinary circumstances—during the course of his eastern campaign in 164/3 B.C.

Origin of the little horn. A major question concerning the little horn in Daniel 8 is whether it came out of the four preceding horns or from one of the four winds toward which those horns extended. The obvious reason why this is important is that if the little horn came from the Seleucid horn, then it could have been a Seleucid king like Antiochus Epiphanes. However, if it came from one of the winds, then it would not represent Antiochus IV since he should more naturally issue from the Seleucid horn.

Given the importance of this point, the syntax of the statement on the origin of the little horn in Daniel 8:8–9 should be examined carefully. Any commentary which does not do this is shirking its exegetical duty, because the decision on how the Hebrew sentence structure should be translated will affect the subsequent interpretation of verse 9.

This problem involves the agreement in gender between a pronominal suffix at the beginning of Daniel 8:9 ("them") and the antecedents proposed for it in the preceding verse ("horns/winds"). Verse 8 concludes, "and instead of it [the great horn of Alexander that was broken] there came up four conspicuous horns toward the four winds of heaven." Drawing on this picture and relating to it, verse 9 continues, "Out of one of them came forth a little horn...." The question is, to what in verse 8 does "them" refer—the horns or the winds?

The linguistic setting is more specific in Hebrew than in the English translation, inasmuch as nouns and pronouns in Hebrew have gender which requires their agreement. The problem then is: The pronominal suffix "them" in verse 9 is a *masculine plural*. On the other hand, the Hebrew word for "horn" is always *feminine*. The word for "winds" is written as a *feminine plural*, although it can occasionally be written in masculine form. This means that as the Hebrew text stands there is no agreement in gender between the pronominal suffix "them" (vs. 9) and either of its potential antecedents—"horns" [understood] or "winds"—in verse 8.

This problem is compounded further by the form of the numerals used in these two verses. The numeral "four" at the end of verse 8 and the numeral "one" at the beginning of verse 9 are *both feminine in form*. Thus this masculine pronominal suffix ("them") does not agree with the gender of either of its potential antecedent nouns ("horns/winds"), nor does it agree with the gender of the numerals ("four") used with "it" and "them." The nature of this problem, but not its final solution, has been summarized thus in *The SDA Bible Commentary*.

> **Out of one of them.** In the Hebrew this phrase presents confusion of gender. The word for "them," *hem*, is masculine. This indicates that, grammatically, the antecedent is "winds" (vs. 8) and not "horns," since "winds" may be either masculine or feminine, but 'horns' only feminine. On the other hand, the word for "one," *'achath*, is feminine, suggesting "horns" as the antecedent. *'Achath* could, of course, refer back to the word for "winds," which occurs most frequently in the feminine. But it is doubtful that the writer would assign two different genders to the same noun in such close contextual relationship. To reach grammatical agreement, either *'achath* should be changed into a masculine, thus making the entire phrase refer clearly to "winds," or the word for "them" should be changed into feminine, in which case the reference would be ambiguous, since either "winds" or "horns" may be the antecedent.[5]

In my opinion, it is not necessary to resort to an emendation of the text if the syntax of this statement is understood. Verse 8 states that four horns appeared in the place of the great horn that was broken. The last phrase of the verse indicates that those horns extended "toward the four winds of the heavens." Verse 9 begins with the prepositional phrase, "Out of one of them" and goes on to describe how the little horn went forth and grew up to a position of great exaltation.

The English translation, "Out of one of them," however, obscures and smooths out the actual Hebrew construction. The sentence actually opens with two prepositional phrases. Translated literally the sentence reads, "and *from* the one *from* them ...," etc. The reason why it is important to notice this literal construction is that it provides a precise parallel to the gender of the elements found in the last phrase of verse 8. This can best be shown by transposing the first phrase of verse 9 to line up beneath the last phrase of verse 8 with these elements in parallel columns. Such a procedure presents the following alignment:

		Fem.	**Masc.**
verse 8	"to the four *winds* of the *heavens*"		
	le'arbaʿ	*roḥôṯ*	*haššāmāyîm*
verse 9		*min-hā'aḥaṯ*	*mēhem*
		"from the *one*	from *them*"

When this procedure is carried out, it can be seen that the gender of the first two elements in verse 9 ("one/them") lines up perfectly with the gender of the last two elements at the end of verse 8 ("winds/heavens").

In writing his visions Daniel simply broke up the construct chain at the end of verse 8 ("the four winds *of* the heavens") and distributed its two elements to two separate prepositional phrases at the beginning of verse 9 ("from the one/from them"). This is not poetic parallelism, it is syntactic parallelism in which the gender of the elements in the second statement parallels the gender of the elements in the first, or preceding, statement.

Thus the antecedent of "them" in the phrase "from them" (vs. 9), is neither "winds" nor "horns," but "heavens." Since "heavens" is masculine by gender and treated as a plural in biblical Hebrew, according to the verbs and adjectives used with it, there is perfect agreement in gender and number with the masculine plural pronoun "them." The feminine "one" of verse 9 refers back to the feminine "winds" of verse 8. The text discloses the origin clearly enough: It came from one of the four winds of the heavens, that is, from one of the directions of the compass.

From this understanding of the syntax in verses 8–9, it is evident that when the little horn came onto the scene of action, it did not come from the Seleucid horn nor from the other three. In the pictorial vision it is simply seen as coming from one of the compass directions. Thus the syntax of this statement does not support the contention that the little horn developed from the Selucid horn/kingdom.

Daniel 9

The bearing of the prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27 on whether the little horn of Daniel 8 is Antiochus must now be examined.

The way to determine whether Antiochus is intended as a historical fulfillment of some of those things prophesied in Daniel 9:24–27 is to examine those verses on the basis of a phrase-by-phrase and verse-by-verse exegesis, comparing the results of that exegesis with potential historical fulfillments. Such an analysis has been carried out in a separate study on Daniel 9:24–27.[6] The results of this particular aspect of that exegesis has proved to be negative in terms of showing any correlation between it and the historical actions of Antiochus IV. The whole of that exegesis need not be repeated here, but a few salient points from it will be mentioned.

One major problem with the preterist interpretation of Daniel 9:24–27 has to do with the fact that there is no possible way to fit Antiochus IV into its prophetic time span, as the more candid interpreters of this school admit. There is no possible way to squeeze 490 years into the period from 587/6 B.C. to 165/4 B.C.

A second major problem with the preterist view of Daniel 9:24–27 is that Antiochus IV never did to Jerusalem what this prophecy says was to happen to it. The coming conquerer was to "destroy" it (vs. 26a); it was to come to an "end" (vs. 26b), and its "desolations" by a "desolator" (vss. 26c–27) were decreed.

It is difficult to imagine a more emphatic way in Hebrew to have prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem than through this threefold description of its fate. Antiochus IV did not destroy, desolate, or bring to an end, either Jerusalem or its temple; he only desecrated the latter. Thus he does not fit this specification of the prophecy.

The linguistic evidence also tends to deny the allegation that Antiochus IV is the fulfillment of "the prince who is to come" (9:26). In a separate study on this subject I have presented the evidence from an analysis of the literary structure that supports the idea that the titles of Messiah Prince (vs. 25), the Messiah (vs. 26a), the Prince (vs. 26b), refer to the same person, that is, to Jesus Christ.

Even if one applies only the title of Messiah to Jesus and that of the Prince to some other historical figure (which the majority of commentators do), *that latter historical figure must still be found in the same general period of history as the Messiah, in the first century A.D. of the Roman Era*. He cannot be projected back to the second century B.C. of the Hellenistic Era.

The reference to this *nāgîḏ*, or "Prince," in this prophecy provides a historical and chronological frame of reference in which to evaluate his subsequent connection with the prophecy of Daniel 11. It is to that prophecy that we turn next.

Daniel 11

Introduction

Commentators are generally agreed that the later prophecies in Daniel explain the earlier ones. They represent a progressive enlargement on the themes treated in the earlier prophecies. This is quite evident even from a cursory survey of the book. Its prophecies begin with kingdoms symbolized through the metals of the image of chapter 2. Those kingdoms are symbolized again in Daniel 7 through the use of beasts; but additional details are given about them and their divisions, in particular through the use of horns to represent some of their divisions. The same imagery is carried on into chapter 8 where additional details about them are given. Finally, in chapter 11 we no longer have beasts with their horns representing those kingdoms and their division, but rather a series of selected individual kings who ruled those kingdoms.

In a sense (which may not at first be apparent) the prophecy of chapter 2 balances that of chapter 11. The former presents an image of the individual man whose various parts represent the successive kingdoms that were to rise and fall. In Daniel 11, on the other hand, we come to a series of individuals who ruled over those kingdoms. The image of chapter 2 has, in a manner of speaking, come to life and now walks through history in the form of his individual embodiments. In between these two prophecies that use the imagery of man are found two back-to-back prophecies that employ beast + horn imagery (chaps. 7–8). Therefore, as far as these four chain or outline prophecies are concerned, they are balanced in the literary structure of Daniel as follows:

Man (2): Beasts + horns (7)::Beasts + horns (8): Men (11)

This literary form lends further support to the idea that the later prophetic chapters of Daniel explain the earlier ones. This is also an argument supporting single authorship of the book.

The question might be raised here as to whether the prophecy of chapter 9 (absent from the above literary balance) is not wrongly placed in the second half of the book. While the element in the first half of the book which balances with chapter 9 is not prophetic in character, there still is a certain balance between them.

First, one might look at the structure of the first half of the book by itself. This already has been elaborated first by A. Lenglet[7] and subsequently by Joyce Baldwin.[8] The very precise literary structure to the Aramaic portion of the first half of Daniel, chapters 2–7, is as on the following page.

This chiastic or A:B:C::C′:B′:A′ structure is known as a palistrophe, and it argues for a single authorship of this portion of the book.

C: Prophecy against a Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar (4)	C′: Prophecy against a Babylonian king, Belshazzar (5)
B: Persecution and deliverance, Daniel's friends (3)	B′: Persecution and deliverance, Daniel (6)
A: Prophecy about nations (2)	A′: Prophecy about nations (7)

At the center of this arrangement of narratives (B + B′) are the chapters dealing with the fate of some of the people of God during their Babylonian exile (chaps. 3, 6). At the center of the second section of Daniel (chaps. 8–12) is the prophecy of chapter 9 dealing with the future of the people of God after their return from Babylonian exile. This prophecy is introduced by a prayer of one of those exiles, Daniel, whose experience is described in more detail in the earlier chapters of the book. On the larger scale, therefore, one of the ways the total literary structure of the book of Daniel can be analyzed is as follows:

B: Narrative history, God's people in exile (3–6)		B′: Prophetic history, God's people after exile (9)	
A: Outline prophecy, Man (2)	C: Outline prophecy, Beasts/horns (7)	C′: Outline prophecy, Beasts/horns (8)	A′: Outline prophecy, Man (10–12)

Chapter 1 could be seen as a historical prologue to all of this, and verses 5–12 of chapter 12 could be seen as a balancing prophetic epilogue to it.

Even without a recognition of these intimate literary relations, it has already been evident to the vast majority of commentators that the later chapters in Daniel elaborate in detail various aspects of the earlier prophecies. The direct linguistic relations between these prophecies studied below present us with further evidence which tightens the interconnecting links between them. Thus a recognition of the clear relations between these prophetic passages is a safe basis upon which to proceed here.

Of particular importance is the direct linguistic evidence from chapter 11 locating the prophecies of chapters 8 and 9 in a historico-prophetic framework in such a manner as to relate these later chapters to each other. This relationship, already evident to some extent from an examination of their content, is thus clarified by the later prophecy of chapter 11. The clarification of these relations speaks directly to the question as to whether or not Antiochus IV is the little horn of Daniel 8.

While many prophetic details in Daniel 11 are difficult to interpret, nevertheless, certain elements stand out as reasonably apparent. No great difficulties have been encountered, for example, in interpreting verses 1–13. Interpreters who have proposed identifications for the successive kings alluded to are in general agreement up to this point. The Persian kings down to Xerxes are referred to in verse 2. By virtue of his attack on the Greeks, Xerxes brought this nation onto the scene of action with Alexander appearing in verse 3.

After Alexander died his kingdom was divided. Those divisions are referred to in verse 4. The prophecy then narrows, concentrating on "the king of the north" (the title given to the successive Seleucid rulers) and "the king of the south" (the title given to the successive Ptolemies). From verses 5–13 the Ptolemies and Seleucids follow in an order that can be determined with reasonable certainty down to the Seleucid Antiochus III.

Up to this point there is general agreement. Beginning with the troublesome reference to the "breakers of your people" inverse 14, however, interpretations diverge. Some would see the chapter continuing from Antiochus III to Antiochus IV and concentrating on him until the end of the chapter. Others would see this as a reference to the Romans whom the policies of Antiochus III drew into Near Eastern history for the first time—just as Xerxes drew the Greeks into that arena from the standpoint of this prophecy. For our present purposes it is not necessary to decide in favor of one or the other of those diverging interpretations.

Rather than debating over how different details can be applied to one king or another from this point on, it is more helpful to see where (farther down the line of this prophecy) language from the earlier prophecies is introduced into it. If such formulation is recognizable here, the historical relationship between Daniel 11 and the earlier prophecies can be established. If such points of contact can be recognized, then Daniel 11 can be used in turn to relate those earlier prophecies to each other. The wording of Daniel 11:22 indicates that Daniel 11 first develops clearcut lexical relations with one of the earlier prophecies.

Verse 22

Here is my rather literal rendering of Daniel 11:22—“and the arms of a flood shall be flooded before him and broken, and the prince of the covenant also.”

The text presents a picture of inferior forces being overwhelmed and defeated by superior forces. The forces on the defensive are referred to as “the arms of a flood.” This construct chain (“the arms of a flood”) is the subject of the two following passive verbs which echo each of the elements in the construct chain. Thus the “flood” *is to be flooded* , and the “arms” *are to be broken*. The lesser flood was to be flooded by an even greater flood of arms which was to come by an aggressor.

Now, of the five other cases where this Hebrew root word for “flood” occurs as a noun in biblical Hebrew it appears only one other place in Daniel—in 9:26 (“Its end shall come with the flood, and to the end there shall be war”). This already suggests a close relationship between 9:26 and 11:22. But these two verses are tied together even more closely by noting who else was to be broken by this aggressor besides the military arms he would defeat. The prince of the covenant would also be broken.

It is important to note the Hebrew word *nāgîḏ*, translated “prince” in this passage. *Nāgîḏ* stands in contrast to the word *śar*, translated as “prince” 11 times elsewhere in Daniel. Six times *śar* refers to human individuals as princes (9:6, 8; 10:13, 20 [twice], and 11:5). *Śar* is used five times for heavenly or superhuman figures in Daniel (8:11, 25; 10:13, 21; 12:1).

On the other hand, *nāgîḏ* occurs only three times in Daniel, namely, in 11:22 and twice previously in the prophecy of 9:24–27. In the prophecy of 9:24–27 it occurs first with the Messiah in verse 25 and then again alone in verse 26, where it refers to the prince “who is to come.” The significance of the *nāgîḏ* from the prophecy of Daniel 9 has been noted in a separate study on Daniel 9:24–27;[9] there it was found to refer to the same individual in both instances—the Messiah Prince.

It is unfortunate that the distinction between *śar* and *nāgîḏ* has been lost in the English translations of Daniel by translating both terms with the same English word—“prince.” This distinction is sharp and clear. Applying these terms prophetically to Christ, the former refers to Him in His heavenly capacity as the “Prince of the host,” the “Prince of princes,” and the “great prince” who will stand up for His people.

Nāgîḏ, on the other hand, refers to Christ in His earthly incarnate state. It is as this earthly *nāgîḏ* that He was to be anointed as Messiah, to be cut off or broken, to make atonement for sin, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to bring the significance of the sacrificial system to an end, and to make a strong covenant with His localized earthly people for one final prophetic week. Here again, therefore, is another term occurring in both Daniel 9:26–27 and 11:22.

The third Hebrew word occurring in both passages is *berîṯ*, or “covenant.” *Berîṯ* does occur elsewhere in Daniel besides these two passages. Thus it is not exclusive to them. It is true to say, however, that its connection with the prince, or *nāgîḏ*, is exclusive to these two passages. In 9:26–27 it is the *nāgîḏ* who was to make strong the covenant for one week. In 11:22 we have the *nāgîḏ* of the covenant.

If intra-Danielic lexical relations mean anything, then the same individual should be referred to in these two passages. For our present purposes it does not matter whether one interprets the *nāgîḏ* of 9:26 as a Roman *nāgîḏ* or as Jesus the Messiah Prince, as outlined above. No matter which of these two options one follows, the fulfillment of these verses has to be put in the Roman period.

There are three points of contact between Daniel 9:24–27 and 11:22. The word for “flood” is common to both of these passages, but is not found elsewhere in Daniel. The same is true of the word *nāgîḏ* (prince). The word for “covenant,” although found elsewhere in Daniel, is found only in these two passages in combination with the word *nāgîḏ* for “prince.” In light of the three linguistic links between these two passages, it is evident that they should refer to some of the same events in one way or another.

Because of these linguistic relations interpreters who identify the “prince of the covenant” in 11:22 as the Jewish high priest Onias III (murdered about 170 B.C.) are obliged to do the same for the *nāgîḏ* in Daniel 9:26–27. But since the historical correspondences of the prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27 found their fulfillment in the Roman period (discussed elsewhere in a separate study on Daniel 9:24–27),[10] the *nāgîḏ* of the covenant referred to in 11:22 cannot be Onias III. The only way such an interpretation can be maintained is by breaking the linguistic relations between Daniel 9:26–27 and 11:22 or to date the former in the Maccabean period. Since the evidence discussed above indicates that both of these positions are incorrect, *a Roman date must be upheld* for Daniel 11:22.

This gives us a chronological fixed point from which to interpret the historical flow of the prophecy in Daniel 11. Everything that precedes Daniel 11:22 must precede the execution of Christ by the Romans, when they broke the prince of the covenant. Furthermore, everything that follows verse 22 must correspondingly be fulfilled after the crucifixion of Jesus. With this fixed point in mind, we must seek to discover where the prophecy of Daniel 11 locates events and activities related to the little horn of Daniel 8. Again, linguistic correspondences are the most direct evidence on which to rely.

Verses 32–34

A correlation of major importance between Daniel 11 and the preceding prophecies of Daniel is that which relates the persecution carried out by the little horn in Daniel 7:25, and the persecution described as occurring according to Daniel 11:32–34. The relations between these two passages must be elucidated through the conclusion to the latter (11:32–34) which is found in Daniel 12:6–7.

After Gabriel had rehearsed to him the whole prophecy of Daniel 11:2 through 12:4, Daniel had one particular question, and that was about time: “How long shall it be till the end of these wonders?” (12:6). The divinelike figure whom he had seen in the vision of Daniel 10:5–6 appeared to him again at this time and swore by the eternal God, “that it would be for a time, two times, and half a time; and that when the shattering of the power of the holy people comes to an end all these things would be accomplished” (12:7).

From the content of Daniel 12:7, it is evident that the prophetic time period of “a time, two times, and half a time,” or a total of three and one-half times, related most directly to the period during which the power of the holy people was to be shattered—the time they were to be persecuted. This question-and-answer dialogue comes at the end of the prophecy of Daniel 11–12 and, therefore, should relate to something that was previously described in that prophecy.

The question then is, Where in Daniel 11 is this three and one-half times of persecution described? The one and only place in Daniel 11 where a persecution of God’s people is described is found inverses 32–34: “And those among the people who are wise shall make many understand, though they shall fall by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder, for some days. When they shall fall, they shall receive a little help.”

The logical connection between these two passages indicates that the three and one-half times of persecution referred to in Daniel 12:7 are described in more detail in 11:32–34, but without the more specific time element found in 12:7. The three and one-half times of 12:7 gives the length of that persecution, while 11:32–34 indicates where in the flow of prophetic history this period of persecution was to occur.

These three and one-half times of Daniel 12:7 do not stand in isolation in Daniel, however; they have connections elsewhere in the book outside of chapter 11. The other place where they occur (in Aramaic instead of Hebrew this time) is in Daniel 7:25. The three and one-half times mentioned there were also to be a time of persecution during which the saints of the Most High were to be given into the hand (power) of the little horn, and be worn out by it.

These two passages (Dan 7:25 and 12:7) thus contain equivalent elements in linguistic, chronological, and thematic terms. Both refer to a time of persecution, and both indicate that persecution was to last three and one-half times. These two time periods, the events that were to occur during them, and the perpetrator of those events can thus be identified as the same. Since the three and one-half times of persecution were to be caused by the little horn in Daniel 7, it is evident that this equivalence between these two passages indicates that the little horn of Daniel 7 was to cause the persecution referred to in Daniel 12:7.

Since the little horn that caused the persecution in Daniel 7 came out of the fourth beast in the prophecy of that chapter, and since the fourth beast of that prophecy represented Imperial Rome, it is evident that the persecution of Daniel 11:32–34 was to be caused by a power that would arise sometime subsequent to the establishment of dominion by Rome.

On this basis it is evident that neither the persecution of Daniel 11:32–34 nor the desecration of the temple referred to in the immediately preceding verse (vs. 31; see below) can be projected back to the time of Antiochus IV in the second century B.C. They belong together during the distinctively religious phase of this Roman power’s work, that is, in the medieval period. On the basis of these associations with the prophecies elsewhere in Daniel it can be said that the persecution described in Daniel 11:32–34 was not the persecution Antiochus IV Epiphanes brought down upon the Jews in Judea between 168 and 165 B.C.

Verse 31

Daniel 11:31 identifies three activities that the power in view will perform: Forces from him shall (1) profane the strong temple *(ḥillelû hammiqdāš hammāʿôz)*. (2) remove the continual *(ḥēsîrû hattāmîḏ)*. (3) set up the abomination that makes desolate *(nāṯnû haššiqqûṣ mešômēm)*.

These activities can be related to those activities conducted by the little horn in Daniel 8 as follows:

Profanes the strong temple. According to Daniel 8:11 the place of the temple of the prince of the host was to be cast down. This refers to what the prophet saw in vision. While various aspects of the work of the little horn are explained at the end of chapter 8, this aspect of his work is not. Its more earthly equivalent is given here in Daniel 11. To some extent, therefore, this passage provides an explanation of what is meant by the antecedent phrase in chapter 8. A passive verb ("was overthrown/cast down") occurs with the pair of nouns written in 8:11, while an active verb ("profane") is used in 11:31. This appears to express one way in which the "casting down" of the temple of the vision was to be accomplished, that is, by its profanation. Note the comparison of 11:31 with this aspect of the horn:

> "the place of his temple," *mekôn miqdāšô* (8:11)
> "the strong temple," *hammiqdāš hammāʿôz* (11:31)

Although they are coupled in different ways, it is interesting to note that the nouns in both pairs ("place/temple"—"temple/strong") were written with *mem* preformatives (the letter *m* prefixed to certain words in Hebrew) in spite of the fact that it was not necessary to do so. This alliteration emphasizes the link between them. Both phrases are definite. The first is qualified through the use of the pronominal suffix ("his"), and the second through the use of the article ("the").

Māʿôz (strong) agrees in number, gender, and determination with "temple." It was written following "temple" in the attributive position and functions like an adjective, in spite of the fact that it is a noun ("stronghold, fortress"). Either this noun was used irregularly as an adjective for alliterative reasons, or perhaps more likely, it was meant to stand in apposition, "the temple, that is, the fortress." In either case, there is no conjunction between them. Since this is not a poetic passage, it is not legitimate to translate this phrase, "the temple and the fortress [= city]" (compare the Revised Standard Version).

Removes the continual. According to Daniel 8:11 the *tāmîḏ*, or "continual" (sacrifice/ministry), was to be taken away from the prince of the host. Daniel 11:31 identifies those responsible for taking the *tāmîḏ* away by using a verb in the causative conjugation ("shall cause to be removed"). In this sense the phrase in Daniel 11 comes closer to the second reference to *tāmîḏ* in Daniel 8:12 where it is said that the little horn was to be given a host (or army) over the *tāmîḏ*. This suggests that the army of the little horn was to exercise control over the *tāmîḏ*. According to Daniel 11:31 this is what the forces from this power would do by removing it.

The phrases in Daniel 11:31 probably should be interpreted as closely interrelated. Thus these forces stand up so that they may profane the temple (vs. 31a). They would profane the temple by taking away the *tāmîḏ* (vs. 31b) and substituting in its place the abomination of desolation (vs. 31c). It is implied that it was necessary to remove the *tāmîḏ* in order to set up that abomination.

Sets up the abomination that makes desolate. The phrase, "abomination that makes desolate," also has linguistic links with earlier passages in Daniel. The Hebrew word for "desolator" or "that which makes desolate" is the same in both 9:27 and 11:31. A linkage also appears between the "abomination that makes desolate" (11:31) and the "transgression that makes desolate" (8:13), though not as precise. However, both of these expressions tie in with the *tāmîḏ* (continual) in their respective contexts (compare 11:31 with 8:11–12).

These linguistic relationships appear to be sufficiently close to indicate the same activity of the little horn in both Daniel 8:12–13 and 11:31. The same can be said about the preceding two phrases examined. The temple of 8:11 is linked to the temple of 11:31, and the fate of the *tāmîḏ* in 8:12 is also linked with its fate in 11:31.

Therefore, there is sufficient lexical evidence to identify these aspects of the work of the little horn with what was described as going to occur according to 11:31. This is another way of saying that, in terms of the prophecy of Daniel 11, the little horn (symbolized in chapter 8) was to appear on the scene of action and perform his deeds at an important historical juncture in the flow of history recounted in 11:31.

Conclusion

With Daniel 11:22 linked to chapter 9, 11:31 to chapter 8, and 11:32–34 to chapter 7, we are able to establish a relative chronology between Daniel 11 and these prophecies. Result: Daniel 11 clearly indicates that the actions of the little horn in chapter 8 *follow* the cutting off of the Messiah (chap. 9) and *occur in direct relationship to* the persecution by the horn in Daniel 7. See the chart on the following page.

Historical and Chronological Interrelations of Daniel's Prophecies

Daniel 11	Daniel 9	Daniel 8	Daniel 7
Persian kings (vs. 2)	Persian decree (vs. 25)	Persian ram (vss. 2–4)	Persian bear (vs. 5)
Greek king (vs. 3)		Greek goat (vss. 5–7)	Greek leopard (vs. 6a)
Kings of North and South (vss. 4–14)	Four horns (vs. 8)		Four heads (vs. 6b)
	Imperial Rome		**Imperial Rome**
Nāgîḏ of covenant is broken (vs. 22)	*Nagîḏ* confirms covenant and is cut off (vss. 25–27)		Fourth beast (vss. 8, 23)
Forces:		**Little horn:**	
1. profane temple		1. downs temple	
2. remove daily		2. removes daily	
3. abomination of desolation (vs. 27)		3. transgression of desolation (vss. 8–13)	
Persecution by flame and sword for 3½ times (vss. 32–34, 12:7)			**Medieval Rome**
			Little horn: wears out saints for 3½ times (vs. 25)

This arrangement indicates that although the actions of the little horn are listed earlier in Daniel (chap. 8), the vision described events that were to occur after those prophesied in chapter 9. Chapter 11 locates these significant events from chapter 8 *after* those of chapter 9 and at essentially the same time as the persecution of the saints launched by Medieval Rome (chap. 7).

Since we have assigned the bulk of the events in the prophecy of chapter 9 to the Roman period, that is, the first century A.D., this means that the historical fulfillment of the activities of the little horn described in chapter 8 must be sought sometime after the first century A.D. Just how long afterward is immaterial at this point, since we are only concerned here with the relationship of Antiochus IV to the little horn of chapter 8. Since Antiochus IV passed off the scene long before the events of the prophecy of chapter 9 had transpired, and since the activity of the little horn must be dated after those events, the little horn cannot represent Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

Summary

The historicist position that interprets the four beasts of Daniel 7 as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome has been adopted above. The attempt by scholars to identify the second and third beasts as Media and Persia appears incorrect, because: (1) It requires making a distinction not made by the prophet in his own time (sixth century B.C.). (2) It necessitates the rejection of the most obvious historical application of the imagery of the second beast that makes full allowance for the dual nature of that kingdom. (3) The historicist alignment of the prophecy is reinforced by its parallels with the beasts and their explicitly stated identifications in chapter 8.

This means that the little horn (issuing from the fourth beast in chapter 7) came out of Rome. Therefore, the little horn of chapter 7 cannot represent Antiochus IV Epiphanes who belonged to one of the divisions of the Greek kingdom represented by the third beast (four-headed leopard).

Since the last earthly figures in the prophecies of Daniel 7 and 8 are both represented by a little horn, and since a comparison of the activities of these little horns indicates that they are quite similar, the probabilities are that both prophecies describe the same historical entity. Since the little horn of chapter 7 cannot be Antiochus IV the little horn in chapter 8 should not represent him either.

The main arguments for identifying the little horn chapter 8 as Antiochus IV rest upon (1) his persecution of the Jews, (2) his suspension of their sacrifices and pollution of their temple, and (3) locating his origin from the Seleucid horn, one of the four divisions developed from the breakup of Alexander's empire. A certain tension is involved here, however, in utilizing the figure of a horn to represent both king and kingdom at the same time.

If the four horns represent the four kingdoms which arose from Alexander's empire, then the appearance of another horn on the scene of action might better represent another kingdom instead of just a single king in the line of one of those kingdoms. However much one makes out of the achievements of Antiochus IV, he cannot be considered greater than either of the preceding empires of Persia and Greece, although the superlatives describing the little horn imply its superior greatness.

The little horn was to conquer toward the south, the east, and the pleasant land, or Palestine. The victory of Antiochus IV in the delta of Egypt was short-lived since Rome forced him to withdraw after just one year of partial occupation. He attempted to regain the territories in the east that rebelled late in the reign of Antiochus III, but he was only partially successful in that pursuit by the time of his death.

Not only was he already in possession of Palestine by the time he came to the throne (thus could not have extended himself toward it), but he was the major reason for the Seleucid loss of Judea. Thus the results achieved by Antiochus in these three geographical regions do not fit with what the little horn was to accomplish in those same areas according to the prophecy.

While Antiochus IV did suspend the regular sacrifices of the temple in Jerusalem (and he did introduce the worship of another cult there), he did not cast down the "place" *(mākôn)* of the temple, which is listed among the things the little horn was to do to the temple in Daniel 8. Nor can the 2300 "evening-mornings" be applied to any known historical aspect of his anti-Jewish career, either in terms of the time he persecuted the Jews or suspended their sacrifices.

Gabriel told Daniel that the vision was for the time of the end. Since the bulk of this prophecy is taken up with the little horn and its activities, that portion of it can hardly be applied to Antiochus IV since he did not extend down to "the time of the end." As far as is known, his own demise was quite natural. This information does not match the end predicted for the little horn in Daniel 8. Chronologically, the little horn was to originate at the latter end of the rule of the Seleucid horns. Antiochus IV, however, ruled at the midpoint of the Seleucid dynasty.

The final point examined from chapter 8 relates to the origin of the little horn. The best syntactical interpretation currently available for the antecedents of the pronouns and numerals in Daniel 8:8–9 indicate that this horn came out of one of the winds (from one of the four points of the compass), not from one of the horns. Some scholars who have identified the little horn with Antiochus IV have argued that his origin can be traced to one of the horns. If the interpretation of the syntax in these verses is correct, such an identification must be doubted. One could still argue that Antiochus, the personification of the little horn, came out of one of the winds rather than out of the Seleucid horn. Such an interpretation, however, makes the identification of this origin void of any significance.

In a separate study we have concluded that no evidence has been found for the existence of Antiochus IV in the prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27 in terms of its historical fulfillment. On the contrary, in the light of our exegesis of this passage, we have found compelling reasons for interpreting it more directly as a messianic prophecy than some previous historicist interpreters have held. As far as Antiochus IV is concerned, the important point about the prophecy of Daniel 9 is not just his historical absence from it, but the way the titles for the Messiah were used there, especially that of *nāgîḏ*, or "prince."

When the use of this title in Hebrew is compared with Daniel 11, it can be seen that then *nāgîḏ* (prince) of the covenant, or Christ, appears in Daniel 11:22. This correlation provides us with a chronological fixed point which enables us to interpret the prophetic history of Daniel 11.

When that fixed point is utilized, it can be seen that the activities of the little horn, as described in chapter 8, do not appear in chapter 11 until verse 31, or some historical time after Christ's earthly ministry and death. These relations are reinforced by the identification of the persecution of Daniel 11:32–34 with the persecution conducted by the little horn, or Medieval Rome, in Daniel 7. Since Antiochus IV Epiphanes ruled Seleucia briefly during the second century before Christ, and the little horn's anti-temple activities from Daniel 8 were not to be carried out until sometime after Christ's death, Antiochus IV cannot be that little horn.

Chapter III

Year-Day Principle—Part 1

Chapter Outline

I. Introduction
II. General Lines of Evidence
III. More Specific Lines of Evidence
IV. Most Specific Lines of Evidence
V. Summary

Introduction

Commentators from two of the three main schools of interpretation of the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel and Revelation—preterists and futurists—interpret the time elements in these prophecies as literal time. Historicist commentators, on the other hand, have interpreted these references as symbolically representing longer periods of historical time.

These periods, historicists hold, should be interpreted according to the principle that a “prophetic day” stands for a “year” of actual calendrical time extending through the historical events in which they were fulfilled. This year-day principle provides a basic diagnostic difference between the historicist school of interpretation that employs this principle and the preterist and futurist schools that do not.

Another lesser-known school of prophetic interpretation, while regarding the apocalyptic time periods as symbolic (as do historicists), treats them in very general terms. It is argued that the time periods are not intended to represent any specific length of literal historical time. This viewpoint is found in particular among some amillennial interpreters. The difference between this view of general symbolism for the time elements in apocalyptic prophecy and the more specifically quantified view of symbolic time, as held by historicist interpreters, is dealt with in the third major section of this chapter.

It is of interest for any evaluation of the historicist position, therefore, to determine whether this principle has been established through reasonable interpretations of Scripture. The reasons cited below in support of the biblical basis for this principle divide into three main lines of evidence:

1. General evidence: suggests that long periods of literal time were involved in the fulfillment of these prophecies.
2. More specific evidence: indicates that their time elements should be interpreted symbolically rather than literally.
3. Most specific evidence: indicates that their symbolic time elements should be interpreted on the basis of a year for a day.

General Lines of Evidence

Philosophy of History

The preterist view of apocalyptic prophecies and their time elements leaves the whole Christian Era, with the exception of a very small initial fraction, without any direct historical or prophetic evaluation by God upon the course of that history.

Such a perspective stands in marked contrast with the OT view of history in which the mighty acts of God on behalf of His people are recited through biblical history from Abraham to Ezra. Old Testament history involves both a recitation of those events and prophetic evaluations of their character. The same approach to the history of the Christian Era is found prospectively in the apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation when they are interpreted along historicist lines, but not when they are interpreted along preterist lines.

The futurist interpretation of apocalyptic poses a similar problem. It also leaves most of the history of the Christian Era unaddressed by God except in general spiritual terms. After this lengthy historical and prophetic vacuum, futurists then see the prophetic voice again taking up a concern for the last seven years of earth's history.

From the viewpoint of the "continuous" historical school of prophetic interpretation, the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation provide a divinely inspired, descriptive overview and evaluation of some of the most theologically significant events of this era. The Christian Era is seen to stand in continuity with the historical description and prophetic evaluation of events in the OT era. The same God has been active in a similar way in both of these dispensations.

This larger view of God's more comprehensive interaction with human history carries with it the corollary that the statements about time found in these prophecies cover a more extensive sweep of history than can be accounted for on a purely literal basis.

Theology of Prophetic Time Periods

A dozen time prophecies occur in the historical narratives and classical prophets of the OT. More than a dozen also appear in Daniel and Revelation. The volume of material implies that this kind of prophetic view was important to the God who revealed these prophecies.

In order to determine what is particularly significant about time prophecies, it may be noted, generally speaking, that what happens during these periods can be evaluated as adverse, or bad, from the human point of view. At their end a more favorable turn of events occurs. Thus these time prophecies appear to delimit periods during which adverse circumstances, or evils, are permitted by God to prevail.

Examples of this kind of activity in the historical narratives and classical prophets of the OT can be found in the cases of the 120 years to which man's wickedness was limited before the Flood (Gen 6:3), the 400 years prophesied for the oppression of Abraham's descendants in Egypt (Gen 15:13), the seven years of drought and famine prophesied through Joseph (Gen 41:27), the 3½ years of drought and famine prophesied through Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1), and the 70 years of exile for God's people prophesied by Jeremiah (Jer 25:11).

In apocalyptic prophecies we find the 3½ times—42 months—1260 days—for the persecution of God's people referred to twice in Daniel (7:25; 12:7) and five times in Revelation (11:2, 3; 12:6, 14; 13:5). Another period of persecution lasting 10 days is referred to in Revelation (2:10). Men were to be hurt for five months under Revelation's fifth trumpet (9:5), and men were to be killed for a longer period of time under its sixth trumpet (9:15). God's witnesses were to lie dead in the streets for 3½ days before their resurrection (Rev 11:9), and the abomination of desolation was allowed to hold sway for 1290 days (Dan 12:11). Again, at the conclusion of each of these time periods these adverse conditions for the people of God were to be reversed.

To recall these examples is not to say that all time prophecies refer to something bad or adverse as occurring with the epochs they delimit The seven years of plenty in the time prophecy given Pharaoh is an example of a period of prosperity (Gen 41:26, 29). While certain dire events were forecast as transpiring during the 70 weeks prophecy (Dan 9:24–27), yet some very positive accomplishments would also take place during that era.

Nevertheless, even in these two instances the good is linked with the less beneficial. The seven good years were preparation for the seven years of famine to follow. The negative response to the Messiah by the people was seen as resulting in terrible consequences for the nation. Thus when the whole spectrum of time prophecies are taken into consideration, it may be seen that in general they delimit periods of adverse conditions.

This pattern is similar to the larger pattern of the whole economy of sin through the history of the human race. That too will finally be delimited and concluded when God brings to an end human history as we now know it. Thus human history can be looked upon as a probationary period during which evil has been allowed to work its way; but God will soon intervene and bring that probationary period to a close.

In the same way, but on a smaller scale, these time prophecies appear to have delimited similar experiences at various points through the course of human history. The fact that God brought those temporary episodes of evil's ascendancy to their conclusions at prophetically appointed times is an earnest or token of the fact that He will also bring the whole economy of sin to its conclusion at the appointed time (Acts 17:31).

The literal time periods present in the prophecies of the historical narratives and the classical prophets were ample for the outworking of evil's purposes. This holds true for the 120 years until the Flood, the 400 years for oppressing the Israelites in Egypt, and the 70 years they were swept off their land during the Babylonian exile, etc.

If the time periods in apocalyptic are also interpreted as literal, however, the same principle of fairness in the great controversy would not appear to operate. The great sponsor of these evils could reasonably complain that he was not given sufficient time to demonstrate the superiority of his program if the 3½ days, 10 days, 3½ time-years, etc., in apocalyptic were only literal time units.

The best way to resolve this theological disparity between the significance of literal time in classical prophecy and interpreting time in apocalyptic as literal is to interpret the time units in the latter as symbolic rather than literal.

The End Point of Prophecies

The time periods that occur in the two types of prophecies discussed above contrast in general with regard to their length, if they are all interpreted as literal time. The time prophecies encountered in historical narratives and classical prophets of the OT run as long as 400 years (Gen 15:13). The other extreme is encountered in apocalyptic where one time prophecy extends for only 3½ days (Rev 11:9).

The longest of the time periods in apocalyptic extends for only 6½ years when the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 are evaluated as literal time; and some commentators would (incorrectly) cut this period in half. Two of these contrasting long and short time prophecies occur in the same chapter of Daniel 9. In this chapter Daniel's prayer for the fulfillment of Jeremiah's 70 years is answered with another prophecy about 70 weeks, or only a year and a half, if literal time is involved.

An important point to note here involves the end point in view in these two different kinds of time prophecy. In the prophecies found in historical narratives or classical prophets of the OT the time periods are connected generally with people who are either contemporaneous or immediately successive to the time of the prophet.

Apocalyptic prophecies, on the other hand, not only speak to the immediate historical context of the prophet, but also to more distant times—even down to the end of time when the ultimate kingdom of God will be set up. Thus a difference in focus—in terms of time—is involved here. Classical prophecy concentrates on the short-range time view while apocalyptic includes the long-range view.

These differences pose a paradox. The time periods in classical prophecy which concentrates on the short-range view are longer than those occurring in apocalyptic which focus on the long-range view (that is, if the time elements in apocalyptic are interpreted as literal).

The most reasonable way to resolve the paradox and restore parallelism and balance to this equation is to interpret the time periods in apocalyptic as symbolic and standing for considerably longer periods of actual historical time.

Magnitude of Events Involved

The events described in apocalyptic prophecies are not peripheral to world political and salvation history. Daniel outlines the rise and fall of the major powers that were to rule the Near Eastern and Mediterranean areas from his day to the end of time. We have not yet entered the final kingdom of God that is to be established at the end, but many centuries have already passed since Daniel's time. Putting these kinds of events on a time scale implies that more than symbolic time is being used when such elements are couched in small numbers in the prophetic visions.

In addition, there appears to be a crescendo in this outline as it is expressed in Daniel 7, since the fourth or Roman beast is described as more dreadful, terrible, and destructive than any of the preceding beasts. While political domination is the goal of the beast, as it is expressed in this passage, the little horn that issued from it has concentrated more on religious issues, such as speaking great words against the Most High and persecuting His saints.

Of all the prophetic entities described in this chapter, the little horn stands out as the one most directly in opposition to God. That being the case, the question may be asked, Does this prophecy really mean to say that the struggle between the little horn and the Most High would be resolved in just 3½ literal years? Given the comprehensive scope of salvation history that this prophecy covers, such a figure seems like an inordinately short period of time in which to conclude events of this importance.

Something similar can be said about the reuse of the same time period in Revelation 12 where the 3½ times or 1260 days (vss. 6, 14) delimit a particular period during which Christ's church (represented by the woman) was to be persecuted by the dragon, or Satan, working through his human agencies. Does an allowance of just 3½ literal years do justice to these statements that are set in the context of the height of the great controversy between Christ and Satan (vss. 7–12)? The magnitude of the events involved in this context points rather to the symbolic nature of the 3½ times in order to accommodate their accomplishment.

Time of the End

In his opening statement of explanation in Daniel 8, Gabriel told the prophet that the vision given to him was for the "time of the end" (Hebrew: *ʿeṯ-qēṣ*, vs. 17). His explanation then began with the first element, the Persian ram (vs. 20), and continued on down to its last element—the time factor of "evening-mornings" (vs. 26). The obvious inference of Gabriel's explanation is that the time element presented with this vision leads the interpreter along to that "time of the end" in human history.

The same point is brought out in the explanation of this vision given in Daniel 11 and 12. The final activities of the king of the north are described as occurring in the "time of the end" (11:40). At that time Michael stands up and delivers His living saints and resurrects His dead saints (12:1–2). The reference here is to the establishment of the final kingdom of God, and this occurs at the end of the "time of the end." Within that same "time of the end" the prophecies of Daniel were to be unsealed, studied, and understood (12:4, 9).

These references in Daniel 11:40 and 12:4, 9 indicate that the "time of the end" was to be a period of time, and that the prophetic time periods referred to in Daniel 8:14, 26 and 12:7, 11 lead up to that final period.

Since the prophecies in Daniel 7–8, and 10–12 all lead up to the "time of the end" which is to be followed by the setting up of God's final kingdom, the time periods mentioned in these prophecies should naturally be seen as extending through history to that "time of the end." In the sweep of history described in these prophecies that extends from the prophet in the sixth century B.C. to our time and beyond, literal time periods of only 3½ to 6½ years are not capable of reaching anywhere near this final end time. Therefore, these prophetic time periods should be seen as symbolic and standing for considerably longer periods of actual historical time extending to the end time.

More Specific Lines of Evidence

Symbolic Context

In the historical narrative of Genesis 15 the prophecy was given to Abraham that his literal flesh and blood descendants were to be oppressed in a foreign land, that is, Egypt, for a literal 400 years (vs. 13). This was fulfilled in these very terms (compare Exod 12:40).

The classical prophecy of Jeremiah 25 foretold that Judah was to be conquered by a literal king Nebuchadnezzar; its inhabitants were to be exiled to his country of Babylon for a literal 70 years (vss. 8–12). These events were also fulfilled in the terms in which they were prophesied (compare 2 Kgs 25; Ezra 1).

These prophecies, and others like them in the historical narratives and classical prophets of the OT, are predicted in terms of literal personages, actions, and times. And they are fulfilled in those terms.

Apocalyptic prophecy, on the other hand, generally makes greater use of symbols than is the case in classical prophecy. The prophecy of Daniel 2, for example, does not directly foretell the coming of a literal kingdom of Greece. It does so rather through the symbolic vehicle of the belly and thighs of bronze in the image. The zoomorphic symbols in the prophecies of Daniel 7 and 8 are even more striking than the metals in Daniel 2.

The time periods of Daniel are connected with these symbolic figures and their actions. Those in Daniel 12:7, 11 refer back to times or actions already described with symbols in Daniel 7:25 and 8:11–13. Thus the 3½ times of Daniel 7:25 belong originally, for example, to a symbolic horn, not to a person or persons described primarily as such.

The same point can be made about the symbolic contexts of the time periods mentioned in Revelation. These thoroughgoing symbolic contexts strongly suggest that we should treat their time units as symbolic.

When time periods in apocalyptic accompany symbolic figures carrying out symbolic actions, it is natural to expect that those time periods should also be symbolic in nature.

Symbolic Time Units

Not only do apocalyptic time periods appear in symbolic contexts, but they are expressed on occasion in unusual time units.

The "evening-mornings" of Daniel 8:14 presents an example of this. That composite unit does not appear elsewhere in the OT as a unit by which time was commonly quantified numerically. It probably was selected for this prophecy because it was particularly appropriate for the sanctuary activity and the symbolism involved with it.

Again, the 3½ *ʿiddān* or "times" of Daniel 7:25 are not the normal expressions of the Bible writers to denote time units. Although some commentators hold that this term is simply another word for "years," there is no lexical evidence from either biblical or extrabiblical sources to support such a contention. The point is that a time unit was used here which was intentionally symbolic, and those symbolic units must be interpreted to determine the actual time period intended by the writer.

The use of unusual time units that were not ordinarily employed for the computation of time, such as "evening-mornings," "times," and to some extent, even "weeks," lends support to the idea that something more than just literal time is involved here. Unusual units like these fit better with symbolic time and probably were chosen to emphasize that point

Symbolic Time Numbers

Even if one accepts the exceptional "evening-mornings" of Daniel 8:14 as a standard unit with which to measure time, 2300 of them still is not the normal way in which to quantify them. One should rather have referred to the period as 6 years, 3 months, and 20 days rather than 2300 days. The same is true of the 70 weeks of Daniel 9 which would make up one year and 4½ months on a literal basis.

The normal way to have given the 1290 days of Daniel 12:11 would have been as 3 years and 7 months; the 1335 days in the next verse would have come out as a correspondingly longer period (compare Jesus' and James' expression of time in Luke 4:25; James 5:17). The 3½ times is not a normal numbering of time either, since the expression reads literally as, "a time, two times, and one-half time."

Thus not one of the time periods in Daniel's prophecies is expressed the way it would have been if it had been used to express literal time in the normal manner. The unusual way in which these prophetic periods are expressed, both with regard to units of time and the numerals used with them, suggests once again that symbolic rather than literal time is involved.

In contrast to statements about time in classical prophecies, apocalyptic employs symbolic numbers with symbolic time units in symbolic contexts. These factors converge to indicate that these references should be understood as standing for symbolic and not literal time.

Daniel’s “Days” in General

Daniel does not present a simple, straightforward pattern of obviously literal days in the historical passages (1:12–15; 8:27; 10:3) and those that are either literal or symbolic in prophetic passages. The pattern is more complex than that, and this complexity provides a spectrum of usage that blends into symbolic days at the prophetic end of this spectrum.

In the historical narratives the word for “days” could be used to specify a general number of years that had passed. For example, Daniel and his friends appear before the king “at the end of the days” when their schooling covered three years (1:5, 18). Nebuchadnezzar recovered his sanity “at the end of the days” (4:34 [31]) when the period involved covered seven times (4:25 [22]) or years, as this unit is probably best interpreted. “Days” is used also in one historical narrative for a passage of a period of time in the past. The reference back to the “days” of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 5:11 referred to events that had occurred more than half a century earlier.

A similar kind of usage can be seen in Daniel’s prophecies where the word for “days” occurs without being quantified numerically. For example, the dream of chapter 2 revealed to Nebuchadnezzar what was to come in the “days,” not latter “years” (2:28). The final end of the image of the dream was to come in the “days” of the kings who were to rule the divided kingdom of iron and clay (2:44). A similar reference is found in Daniel 8:26 where Daniel was told to seal up the vision, for it pertained to “many days,” even to the time of the end. The same sort of thing is expressed again in Daniel 10:14. Likewise, Daniel is to stand in his lot “at the end of … days,” that is, he is to be resurrected at the end of time (12:13).

God’s side of the usage of this word is found in His title as “the Ancient of days” (7:9–13). The term describes His past existence, which is not measured in literal days or years, but in ages. He is also sovereign over all the historical and prophetic “days” surveyed in this book.

In Daniel’s final prophecy reference is made to the period of a “few days,” following which “the exactor of tribute” (11:20) was to be broken. Since he could not have collected very much tribute in a few literal days, figurative or symbolic days must be involved here that refer to his career as covering some years.

The same thing can be said about the persecution of God’s people referred to in Daniel 11:33 that states they would “fall by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder, for … days.” That these “days” should be understood quantitatively seems likely from the fact that this reference stands in the same place in its prophetic flow as do the 3½ times or 1260 days of Daniel 7:25. The link between these two passages is confirmed by Daniel 12:7, which applies the time period from Daniel 7:25 to the persecution of Daniel 11:32–35. As is noted under “Especially Short Time Periods” below, a persecution measured in terms of a few literal days would not have been very significant, so a longer period of historical time measured rather in years should be in view here.

The more general and figurative ways that the word for “days” has been used in Daniel to represent longer periods of actual historical time have been reviewed here. This type of usage is already present in the historical narratives of the book. It continues into the non-numerical statements about time in the prophecies of the book.

Seven of these prophetic statements have been reviewed here. Not one of them contains a case in which the word for “days” has been used in the normal sense of literal days. One may refer to this kind of usage as either figurative or symbolic, but it is not literal.

Therefore, on the basis of this antecedent usage, one would expect in instances where time units like “days” are enumerated in the prophecies that they too would refer to figurative or symbolic time periods.

The correct typology of the spectrum of usage in Daniel of the term “days” appears to proceed logically from literal days in historical narratives, to figurative days in historical narratives, to figurative or symbolic non-numerical days in the prophecies, to symbolic numerical days in the prophecies.

Especially Short Time Periods

As a general rule, one may say that the shorter a time period is in apocalyptic prophecy, the less likely it is to refer to literal time. There are three cases in point: the last week of the 70 weeks (Dan 9:26, 27), the 10 days of tribulation (Rev 2:10), and the 3½ days that God’s two witnesses were to lie dead and unburied in the streets (Rev 11:9).

Is it possible that everything in Daniel 9:26, 27 could have occurred in a literal week extending, for example, from Sunday to Saturday?

If the 10 days were literal, during which the church at Smyrna was to experience tribulation, why then was it even necessary to point out this fact prophetically? Ten literal days does not seem like a very long period through which to endure persecution. On the other hand, when this time period is interpreted according to the year-day principle, it fits very well with the Diocletian persecution from A.D. 303 to 313.

In times of warfare and famine bodies have lain in the streets for three days or more without burial, like the two witnesses of Revelation 11. So such an occurrence is not without parallel. What is unusual about the two witnesses is that they are idenified as “the two olive trees and the two candlesticks”; neither are they buried. At the end of the 3½ days they are resuscitated and taken to heaven. The symbolic language employed for these figures and the symbolic activities connected with them emphasize the probability that the related time period should also be interpreted symbolically as standing for a longer period of actual historical time.

Short periods of prophetic time like these examples support the idea that, in general, time periods in apocalyptic are symbolic in character, inasmuch as these three instances make much better sense when they are interpreted on a symbolic basis than on a literal one.

Trumpets and Plagues

As Kenneth Strand notes in his paper, “The Literary Structure of the Book of Revelation,”[1] “The parallels between the seven trumpets of Rev. 8–9 (and 11:15ff.) and the seven vials of wrath of Rev. 16 … are quite obvious and have long been recognized.” Strand has outlined these relations in more detail in his book, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation.*[2]

Trumpets	Objects	Plagues
8:7	Earth	16:2
8:8	Sea	16:2
8:12	Rivers	16:4
9:2	Sun	16:8
9:2	Darkness	16:10
9:14	Euphrates	16:12
11:15	It is done	16:17

The series of trumpets and the series of plagues occur on opposite sides of the literary fulcrum at the center of the chiastic structure of Revelation, which Strand has analyzed in both his paper and book. According to his structural analysis, the trumpets occur in the *historical* series (first part of Revelation) and the plagues in the *eschatological* series (last part of Revelation).

The prophecies given under the fifth and sixth trumpets contain references to *time*, while their corresponding members in the series of plagues do not. The ready explanation for this is that the plagues come at the end of time; while the trumpets, on the other hand, appear to prophesy a series of events that span the preceding continuum of history leading up to those final plagues. Thus the time periods under the trumpets should lead up to the end of time in which the plagues occur.

However, in order to extend that far, the fifth and sixth trumpets would require a substantial period of time for their accomplishment. This could only be the case if the units of time mentioned with these trumpets are construed as symbolic, standing for longer periods of actual historical time.

Time Periods That Span Kingdoms

Regardless of the precise chronological starting point chosen for them, the 70 weeks of Daniel 9 should start sometime in the Persian period, since, according to Ezra and Nehemiah, it was under one or another of the Persian kings that reconstruction of the city of Jerusalem began. The decree was to be the starting point for the time period indicated by the prophecy.

The Messiah prince was to appear 69 prophetic weeks thereafter. This prophetic figure has been correctly identified historically with Jesus Christ. He was cut off, as the prophecy foretold. Soldiers of Rome crucified Him.

Thus the two historical events that delimit the prophetic period of 69 weeks occurred in the Persian and Roman periods respectively, regardless of the precise dates chosen for them.

This means that those 69 weeks spanned part of the history of the Persian Empire, ran contemporaneously with the history of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, and extended at least as far into the Roman period of history as the time of Christ’s crucifixion.

A year and a half (the approximate equivalent of 70 literal weeks) could only overlap two of these kingdoms: either the Persian and Greek, or the Greek and Roman. Either of these transitions could only be covered chronologically during the year in which the latter finally overcame the former. Such a limited period of literal time could not reach as far as either the beginning or the end of the events described in the prophecy.

The “weeks” in this prophetic time period must, therefore, be symbolic in nature and not literal. (For the fact that the Hebrew word in this instance means “weeks” and not something else, see “Ezekiel 4:6” below.)

The time period of Daniel 8 (2300 days) provides another instance of a prophetic time element that spans more than one kingdom. It also begins in Persian times and extends beyond the conclusion of the 70 weeks to a point far beyond the fall of the Roman Empire. (See “Weeks and Years in Daniel 9” below.)

Most Specific Lines of Evidence

Historical Narratives

There is in the historical narratives of the OT a recognition of a particular kind of relationship between "days" and "years" that transcends the mere idea that the latter were made up of the former. In these instances the word "days" (always in the plural form) was actually used to stand for "years." This usage occurs in three general ways:

1. The term "days" was used to stand for a "year," when an annual or yearly event was referred to. For example, the Passover was to be kept, literally, "from days to days," that is, from year to year, or yearly (Exod 13:10). A yearly sacrifice was spoken of as the "sacrifice of the days" (1 Sam 20:6). Hannah took the garments she had made for Samuel once each year (literally, "from days to days," 1 Sam 2:19). She took them at the same time her husband Elkanah went to Shiloh to offer his "sacrifice of the days," that is, his "yearly sacrifice" (1 Sam 1:21).

Judges 11:40 tells about the service of mourning which was held for Jepthah's daughter "from days to days," that is, yearly. This passage is particularly instructive since it also states that the mourning was held for four days each year *(šānāh)*. Hence, the equation between "days" ("from days to days") and "year" *(šānāh)* is made directly through the terms employed in this verse.

2. The term "days" was used at times to specify directly a period of time equivalent to a year. For example, it is stated (in literal terms) that David and his men dwelt in the land of the Philistines "*days* and four months" (1 Sam 27:7). That a period of *a year and four months* is intended is evident, and that is the way translators of the Bible have generally handled this phrase.

Numbers 9:22 is part of a passage that discusses Israel's wilderness journeying. The tribes moved only when the pillar of cloud lifted from the tabernacle. Otherwise they remained encamped, "whether it was two days [Hebrew dual form], or a month [singular], or [days]." The logical progression of time units described here should proceed from days to a month to a year. Thus the second occurrence of the word for "days" in this verse (as usual in the plural form) should be taken as standing for a *year*, which is the way the versions generally render it.

3. The term "days" is often used in equation with the "years" of an individual's life. For example, 1 Kings 1:1 states that "King David was old and advanced in years" (literally, "in the days").

It is especially in the book of Genesis that we find this kind of time statement in its fullest form. For example, Jacob makes the following statement to Pharaoh: "The days of the years of my sojourning are a hundred and thirty years; few and evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they have not attained to the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their sojourning" (Gen 47:9).

This kind of thought pattern appears to find its roots in the genealogy of Genesis 5. The formula that is repeated ten times over for the antediluvian patriarchs listed there is: "X lived so many years and begat Y. And X lived so many years after he begat Y and begat sons and daughters. And all the *days* of X were so many *years*, and he died."

An important relationship between "days" and "years" *and prophecy* has been derived from the use of these two time units in the third sentence of the Genesis 5 genealogy. Referring to the wickedness of the antediluvians, God said, "My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for he is flesh, but his *days* shall be a hundred and twenty *years*" (Gen 6:3).

The time mentioned here conveys a *prophecy* about a future probationary period. During this time Noah would preach and endeavor to persuade that sinful generation to accept God's offer of mercy while probation lingered. Already in Genesis 6, therefore, we find a prophecy about a sharply delimited amount of future time. And in this *first time prophecy* of Scripture the terms "days" and "years" are linked directly together.

It can be seen from the above brief survey that the relationship that came to be established between the terms for "day" and "year" forms the general linguistic usage and thought pattern from which a later, more specific quantitative relationship in prophetic texts will spring. It is evident that the year-day principle did not crop up suddenly in prophecy *sui generis*. When it came upon the scene of action, it was drawn from a more general relationship that was already a part of Hebrew thought.

Old Testament Poetry

The poetic literature of the OT does not provide us with a year-for-a-day principle with which to interpret time periods in prophecy. It does, however, provide us with instances (like those in the historical prose narratives cited above) in which these two units of time are used side by side in a particularly close relationship.

In this kind of literature the relationship arises from the poet's employment of a literary device known as parallelism. Thus, Hebrew poetry provides us with further examples of the thought patterns out of which the year-day principle naturally developed.

The book of Job provides several examples in which "days" and "years" occur as a poetic pair:

> Are thy days as the days of man,
> or thy years as man's years? (Job 10:5)
> The wicked man writhes in pain all his days,
> through all the years that are laid up for the ruthless. (Job 15:20)
> I said, "Let days speak,
> and many years teach wisdom." (Job 32:7)
> If they harken and serve him,
> they complete their days in prosperity,
> and their years in pleasantness. (Job 36:11)

The "covenant lawsuit" poem of Deuteronomy 32 provides another example of Hebrew parallelism which links these two time units together:

> Remember the days of old,
> consider the years of many generations;
> ask your father, and he will show you;
> your elders, and they will tell you. (Deut 32:7)

A couple of examples may be cited from the Psalms:

> I consider the days of old,
> I remember the years long ago. (Ps 77:5)
>
> For all our days pass away under thy wrath,
> our years come to an end like a sigh.
> The years of our life [literally, "the days of our years"]
> are threescore and ten,
> or even by reason of strength fourscore;
> yet their span is but toil and trouble;
> they are soon gone, and we fly away. (Ps 90:9–10)

This list of texts is not cited as an exhaustive catalog of such occurrences; it is merely illustrative. The parallelism presented in these instances does not employ "days" to refer to short periods of time and "years" to long periods. The terms refer to the same periods but are calibrated in shorter and longer units. This is the same manner of thinking that is encountered in time prophecies, but there the equivalence has been made more numerically specific.

In every case cited above, "days" is always the *A*-word that occurs first, and "years" is always the *B*-word that appears in second position. These words probably follow that order because of the logical progression in thought from "days" to "years." When we come to the occurrence of the word "days" in the time prophecies, therefore, an ancient Semite whose mind was steeped in this parallelistic type of thought would naturally have made an association of "years" with the "days" found in a symbolic context, just as he naturally would have identified "years" as the *B*-word that would follow the *A*-word "days" in its occurrence as part of a well-known parallel pair.

The close and particular relationship between "days" and "years" that is found both in the prose and poetry of the OT provides a background for the more specific application of this type of thought in apocalyptic time prophecies.

(The poetic statement of Isaiah 61:2 presents an uncommon example of the reverse order of the "day" and "year" time elements. The "year of the Lord's favor" is followed by "the day of vengeance of our God." The specific concept from which this use of the word "day" derives is the "day of the Lord," an expression used throughout the prophets to depict a final time of judgment for Israel or Judah, or for nations roundabout God's people, or for kingdoms and peoples seen in prophecy as arising in the future. Thus there is a particular theological reason why the more common order [day-year] has been inverted here. It is the exception for that reason, and not the rule.)

Leviticus 25:1–7

This is the earliest biblical text in which the year-day principle is reflected. In this piece of Levitical legislation an institution which has come to be designated as the sabbatical year was established for the Israelite agricultural economy. For six years the Israelite farmer was instructed to sow his fields, prune his vineyards, and gather the harvest into his barns and storehouses. But in the seventh year he was instructed to leave the land to lie fallow and the vineyards and orchards unpruned. What grew of itself could be eaten as food by anyone—the alien, the poor, the slave, as well as by the owner; but it was not to be harvested and stored.

The sabbatical year was marked off as the last or seventh year in a period of seven years. The legislation was introduced with these words: "When you come into the land which I give you, *the land shall keep a sabbath to the Lord*" (vs. 2). The "sabbath" referred to in this instance, however, was not the weekly seventh-day Sabbath but the "sabbath" of every seventh year. A literal translation of the phrase would read, "the land shall sabbatize a sabbath to Yahweh."

When the command is repeated again in verse 4, it is stated in a slightly different manner: the seventh year was to be "a sabbath … for the land, a sabbath to the Lord." The comment was also added that it was to be a "sabbath of solemn rest *(šabbaṯ šabbāṯôn)*." When this latter phrase is repeated in verse 5, the word for "year" occurs in the same position as the word for "sabbath." Thus the two statements read, The seventh year:

> "shall be a *sabbath* of solemn rest for the land" (vs. 4)
> "shall be a *year* of solemn rest for the land" (vs. 5)

The grammatical parallelism reemphasizes the identification of that year as a sabbath for the land to Yahweh.

Šabbāṯôn (solemn rest), the second Hebrew word which occurs in these phrases, obviously derives from the root word for "sabbath" (*sabbâṯ*). It is commonly translated "solemn rest" or a similar expression. Andreasen has found this word "to describe that which really characterize[s] the Sabbath, or any other day which has Sabbath qualities. In that sense it has been termed a *Verbal-abstractum*, meaning, 'Sabbath keeping.' We conclude, therefore, that *šabbāṯôn* describes the content of the Sabbath, for example, it is an abstraction of 'keeping Sabbath.' "[3]

The word *šabbāṯôn* occurs only in Exodus and Leviticus, and in those books it occurs in ten passages. It is applied to the weekly Sabbath (Exod 16:23; 31:15; 35:2; Lev 23:3), the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:31; 23:32), the Feast of Trumpets (Lev 23:24), and to the first and last days of the Feast of Booths (Lev 23:39), in addition to its two instances in connection with the sabbatical year considered above (Lev 25:4, 5).

Since the festival days (Feast of Trumpets, Day of Atonement, first and last days of the Feast of Booths) could fall on days other than the seventh day of the week, it is evident that the word *šabbāṯôn* could also be used for days other than the weekly Sabbath. However, it is evident that the weekly Sabbath has been the pattern and that its special significance has been extended to those festival days. It is their Sabbath-day quality that makes them sabbaths of solemn rest.

More important for the present discussion is the evidence that *šabbāṯôn* (outside our passage in Leviticus 25:1–7) is never applied to more than one day at a time. The day of the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement were individual days which fell on the first and tenth days of the seventh month. It was not the whole Feast of Booths that was a *šabbaṯ šabbāṯôn*, but only the first and eighth days of that festival that qualified for that particular designation. Thus the other usages of this word refer to single or individual days. In like manner, in Leviticus 25:4, 5 the word has been taken over and applied to single or individual years. In this manner a word with more specific connections to individual days has been applied by analogy in Leviticus 25 to individual years.

It is clearly implied in Leviticus 25:1–7 that the sabbatical year is modeled from the sabbatical day, that is, from the weekly Sabbath. Six days of labor were followed by the seventh day of Sabbath rest; six years of farming were to be followed by a seventh year of sabbath rest for the land. The seventh-day Sabbath was to be a Sabbath of "solemn rest" (Lev 23:3); and the seventh year, the sabbatical year, was likewise to be a sabbath of "solemn rest" for the land (Lev 25:4, 5).

Thus there is a direct relationship between the "day" and the "year" since the same terminology was applied to both, and the latter sabbatical year was patterned after the former sabbatical day. This relationship becomes clearer quantitatively when the next piece of legislation in Leviticus 25 pertaining to the jubilee period is considered.

Leviticus 25:8

Even though this is a legislative passage, the day-year principle operates the same way here as it does in Daniel—the use of "days" (extended into the future) to mark off the "years" of the future.

The passage is concerned with instruction for observance of the jubilee year. A literal translation of the opening clause of Leviticus 25:8 reads, "You shall count seven sabbaths of years, seven years seven times, and to you the days of the seven sabbaths of years shall be forty-nine years."

The explanation of the first numerical expression, as given in the second phrase of the same clause, indicates that a "sabbath of years" is to be understood as a *period* of seven years. The Sabbath was the seventh day of the week. In this passage the seventh day has been taken to stand for a *seventh year*. As the seventh and concluding day of the week, the Sabbath has been taken over here to stand for the *seventh year* of a period of seven years. Thus *each day* of the "weeks" that end with these "sabbaths" in the jubilee cycle stands for *one year*.

That the "sabbath" terminology was intended furthermore to stand for "weeks" is evident from parallel phraseology given two chapters earlier. Reference is made there to the Festival of Weeks or Pentecost being celebrated after seven "full weeks," literally, "seven sabbaths, full ones" (*šabbāṯôṯ temîmōṯ*, Lev 23:15). Since one must count more than full sabbath "days" to get to the fiftieth day designated for the celebration of Pentecost, it is evident that "sabbaths" means "weeks" here, just as it is commonly translated in the various versions of the Bible. This parallel phraseology pertaining to Pentecost indicates that the "sabbaths" referred to in Leviticus 25:8 with reference to the jubilee period must also mean "weeks."

Thus the Sabbath day and the six days that preceded it came to be used as the model by which the occurrence of the jubilee year was calculated according to divine directions. Each of these year-days was to extend into the future from the beginning of those cycles to measure off the coming of the jubilee year.

In prophecy this use of the year-day principle is paralled most directly by Daniel 9:24–27. A different word (*šāḇû'a*) is used in that prophecy, but it means the same thing that the "sabbaths" mean in Leviticus 25:8, that is, "weeks." The applicability of the year-day principle to the time periods of Daniel 9:24–27 is especially evident, therefore, from the parallel construction of the Levitical instruction on the jubilee year. One could almost say that the time period involved in Daniel 9:24–27 was modeled after the jubilee legislation.

Since it is legitimate to apply the year-day principle to the days of the weeks of Leviticus 25 to reckon time into the future to the next Jubilee, it is also legitimate to apply that same year-day principle to the days of the weeks of Daniel 9 to reckon time into the future from the beginning of their cycle. By extension, this same principle can be reasonably applied also to the "days" of the other time prophecies in Daniel.

Numbers 14:34

The third specific biblical use of the year-day principle is found in Numbers 14:34. Here the principle is employed somewhat differently than it is in Leviticus 25.

In Numbers 14 the "days" used to measure off "years" are derived from events of the immediate historical past: the 40 days that the Israelite spies spent in their exploration of Canaan. The people in the camp accepted the bad report given by the majority of the spies contrary to the divine intent. As a consequence, God sentenced them to wander in the wilderness for 40 years: "According to the number of the days in which you spied out the land, forty days, for every day a year, you shall bear your iniquity, forty years, and you shall know my displeasure."

Thus the fate of the generation that was to wander in the wilderness was foretold here in the form of a prophetic judgment, a prophetic judgment calibrated in terms of the year-day principle.

When one comes to the interpretation of a "day for a year" in apocalyptic prophecy, it is evident that the prophetic "day" is used for a historical "year" in a slightly different way than it is used here. In this instance *a past day* stands for *a future year*, in apocalyptic *a future day* stands for *a future year*.

This does not mean, however, that these two operations are necessarily unrelated. With two different, but related, kinds of time prophecies (classical/apocalyptic), it is only to be expected that some elements found in the earlier type would be transformed and used in the later type in a somewhat different manner.

This does not mean the year-day principle found in both is of independent origin. It simply means that it has been adapted and transformed for its particular use in the later apocalyptic kind of time prophecy. The two classes of time prophecy can still be seen as related; the former (classical) still speaks to the nature of the latter (apocalyptic). Apocalyptic does not have to use the prophetic days of classical prophecy in precisely the same way that classical prophecy did; but apocalyptic's later use of such time elements is still drawn from the basic model provided by classical prophecy.

This is already true of the divergence between the nature of the operation of the year-day principle in Leviticus and the way it was used here in Numbers. It is also true of the next case discussed, that of Ezekiel 4:6, in which the same principle has been applied in yet another manner differing from its application in Numbers 14 and Leviticus 25.

Its still later use in Daniel actually harks back to its earliest use—that found in Leviticus 25—as has already been pointed out. Thus the spectrum of this usage may be seen as a continuum, and not as discontinuous. Just as the linguistic usage of "days" paired with "years" in prose and poetic passages of the OT forms a background for the development of the principle, so those passages in which the year-day principle is employed in different ways provides a background for the specific application that is made of it in apocalyptic.

Ezekiel 4:6

Ezekiel 4 describes an acted parable with three main points: the meaning of the pantomime; the prophetic time element involved; and the historical background for the time element.

The context makes it clear that the parable’s objective was to represent the siege and conquest of Jerusalem and the exile of its people. The 430 years [390 + 40], from which the 430 days were derived for the prophet to lie on first one side and then the other, appear to refer to the progressively sinful state of Israelite society under the divided Hebrew monarchy. The days during which the prophet was to bear these sins correspond to the time that God took to judge His people in the temple as is described in Ezekiel 1, 9, and 10.

The time elements of this prophecy warrant comparison with those found in Numbers 14:34. When such a comparison is made, distinct similarities between the two passages emerge. The following is a somewhat literal translation:

Numbers 14:34. ‘According to the number of the days [*bemispar hayyāmîm*] which you spied out the land, forty days [*’arbā ‘îm yôm*], day for the year, day for the year [*yôm laššānāh yôm laššānāh*], you shall bear your evil [*tis’u ‘^{a}wônōṯêkem*] forty years [*’arbā‘îm šānāh*].”

Ezekiel 4:4–6. “The number of the days [*mispar hayyāmîm*] you lie on your side, and you shall bear their evil [*tiššā’ ‘^{a}wônām*]. I have given you the years of their evil [*šenê ‘^{a}wônām*] according to a number of days [*lemispar yāmîm*], three hundred and ninety days, and you shall bear the evil of the house of Israel … and you shall bear the evil [*nāśā’ṯā ‘^{a}wôn*] of the house of Judah forty days [*’arbā‘îm yôm*], day for the year, day for the year [*yôm laššānāh yôm laššānāh*] I have given you.”

Several aspects of the original language in these two passages correspond directly. Both the act of “bearing” and the “evil” borne are expressed in the same way. Both are introduced with the same phrase that refers to “the number of the days,” and both express the idea of “each day for a year” with the same reduplicated phrase: “day for the year, day for the year.”

From these comparisons it can be seen that the later of these two texts (Ezek 4) is directly dependent upon the earlier one in Numbers in several significant ways. The year-day principle found in Ezekiel 4:6 is, therefore, linguistically the same as that found in Numbers 14:34.

While the principle involved in these two passages is the same, there is a significant difference in the way that principle has been applied. Ezekiel’s prophetically future “days” are derived from historically past “years.” This is the reverse of the situation in Numbers where the “years” of judgment follow the “days” of sinfulness. In Numbers, therefore, we have a day-for-a-year application, while in Ezekiel we have a year-for-a-day situation. But the principle involved in both of these instances is the same, as is evident from the preceding linguistic comparisons between them.

Ezekiel does not say “year for the day” when Numbers says “day for the year.” The latter phraseology (“day for the year, day for the year”) appears in *both* passages, *stated the same way*. There is no difference between them in this regard even though their historico-chronological application differs. This fact demonstrates the point that the same year-day principle could be employed in different ways on different occasions.

The symbolic “days” present in apocalyptic refer to events that were to take place in the future from the prophet’s time. The application of the same year-day principle of these symbolic “days” can simply be seen, therefore, as one more way this principle could be applied. The comparison of Ezekiel with Numbers and of Numbers with Leviticus has already opened up that possibility by demonstrating the different ways this principle was used.

Weeks of Daniel 9

All commentators on Daniel agree that the events prophesied in Daniel 9:24–27 could not have been completed within a literal 70 weeks or one year and five months. Since this prophetic time period stands symbolically for a longer period of actual historical time, it is important to decide just how the length of that longer period should be determined.

Crucial here is the word *šāḇû‘a* that occurs six times in its singular and plural forms in these four verses. Since this word provides the basic periods of the prophecy, its translation plays an important part in the way in which the interpreter derives them.

Two main but significantly different approaches have been taken toward this matter. The first is to translate the word as “weeks” and to derive the prophecy’s time periods from the “days” which compose them. The calculation is done on the basis of the year-day principle. Thus each day of these “weeks” is viewed as a prophetic day standing for a historical year. This is the approach taken by the historicist school of thought.

The second approach is to translate this word as “sevens, besevened, heptads, hebdomads” or the like. From this purely numerical kind of translation it is then held that *šāḇû‘a* carries with it directly implied “years,” that is, it is taken to mean “sevens (of years),” literal and not symbolic time. In this manner the intervening step through which those “years” would have been derived from the “days” of the prophetic “weeks” has been avoided by the interpreter. This is the approach taken by the preterist and futurist schools of thought.

One reason for this approach in translation is to separate the 70-week prophecy of Daniel 9 from the other time prophecies of the book and to place it in a distinct class by itself. The effect of this is to blunt the implications of the year-day principle advocated by the historicist system of interpretation.

If the year-day principle is thus denied its function in the interpretation of Daniel 9:24–27, then preterists and futurists alike are at liberty to deny its application to the other time prophecies. On the other hand, if it is valid to apply the year-day principle to the “days” of the “weeks” in Daniel 9, then it is logical to apply the same principle to the “days” in the time prophecies found elsewhere in Daniel as well as to the apocalyptic writings of Revelation.

Thus a prominent way in which the attempt has been made to parry the thrust of this logical conclusion has been to translate *šāḇû‘a* as “sevens” instead of “weeks.” An examination of the way this word should be translated is of importance, therefore, in any discussion of the year-day principle of Daniel’s time prophecies.

The Hebrew word for “week,” *šāḇû‘a*, was derived from the word for “seven,” *šeḇa*. However, it was derived as a specialized term to be applied only to the unit of time consisting of seven days, that is, the “week.” A different vocalization was utilized for this specialization. This difference is evident even in unpointed Hebrew texts (Hebrew consonants written without vowels) since the Hebrew letter *wāw* was consistently written as the *u*-vowel letter in this particular word (compare Dan 9:27).

This spelling is consistent in the Bible as well as in all six of the texts from Qumran in which this word has appeared. To give this word only a numerical value in Daniel 9, therefore, confuses its etymological origin with its derived form and function.

The masculine plural ending on this word in Daniel 9, in contrast to its feminine plural ending elsewhere in the OT, is of significance only in indicating that it is one of many Hebrew nouns with dual gender.[4]

The same phenomenon can be demonstrated for the occurrence of this word in Mishnaic Hebrew, Qumran Hebrew, Qumran Aramaic, and also later Syriac and Ethiopic texts. Furthermore, if the masculine plural in Daniel 9:24 was intended to be understood numerically, the consonantal phrase of *šb‘ym šb‘ym* should be translated as “seventy seventies,” not as “seventy sevens.”

The word *šāḇû‘a* occurs 13 times in the OT outside of Daniel 9. Virtually all versions of the Bible are in agreement in translating these instances as “weeks.” If it is “weeks” everywhere else in the OT, then, on the basis of comparative linguistic evidence, it should be rendered “weeks” in Daniel 9.

Seven of these occurrences outside of Daniel 9 are connected with the “Feast of Weeks” or “Pentecost.” Clearly, this is the “Feast of Weeks,” not the “Feast of *Sevens*.”

The same point can be made from Daniel 10:2–3 where the word occurs twice as a reference to a period of three “weeks,” during which Daniel mourned and fasted for the fate of his people. The word is modified in this passage by the qualifying word “days.” Because of this some have argued that the expression should be rendered as “weeks of days,” implying thereby that the prophecy of Daniel 9:24 should be understood to mean “weeks (of years).” But the argument misunderstands the Hebrew idiom present in this expression.

When a time unit such as a week, month, or year is followed by the word for “days” in the plural, the idiom is to be understood to signify “full” or “complete” units. Thus the expression, “a full month” or “a whole month,” reads literally in the Hebrew, “month days,” or “month of days.” See Genesis 29:14; Numbers 11:20–21; Judges 19:2 (in this latter instance the word for “days” precedes the term for “month”). The expression, “full years,” reads literally, “years days.” See Genesis 41:1; Leviticus 25:29; 2 Samuel 13:23; 14:28.

Thus the Hebrew expression in Daniel 10:2–3, namely, “three weeks days,” means, according to this idiom, “three full weeks,” or “three whole weeks.” Linguistically this idiom prevents the conclusion from being drawn that “weeks of days” in contrast to “weeks (of years)” is implied in this passage.

It is quite arbitrary, therefore, to translate *šāḇû‘a* as “seven” or “sevens” in Daniel 9:24–27 and to translate it as “weeks” three verses later in Daniel 10:2, 3, as the New International Version renders it in the body of its text. Usages elsewhere in Daniel, elsewhere in the OT, in extrabiblical Hebrew, and in cognate Semitic languages all indicate that this word should be translated as “weeks.” No support can be obtained from any of these sources for translating this word any other way than as “weeks.”

A similar point can be made from the Greek of the Septuagint (commonly designated LXX, a translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek during the latter part of the intertestamental period before Christ).

The cardinal numeral “seven” occurs more than 300 times in the LXX and is consistently represented by *hepta* and its derived forms.[5] The ordinal numeral “seventh” occurs some 110 times in the LXX and is consistently represented by *hebdomos* and its derived forms.[6]

In 17 of the 19 instances in which *šāḇû‘a* occurs in the Hebrew OT, the LXX translates it with the feminine collective *hebdomas* and its derived forms. (The other two instances give no insight on the use of this term, inasmuch as the “two weeks” of Leviticus 12:5 are rendered “twice seven days” and the Greek of Jeremiah 5:24 is rather remote from the Hebrew text.)

There is no overlap in the LXX usage between *hebdomas* for “weeks” on the one hand and *hebdomos* and *hepta* for “seventh” and “seven” on the other. If 11 references to *hebdomas* outside of Daniel 9 should be translated as “weeks” instead of “sevens,” then again, on the basis of comparative LXX usage, they should also be translated that way in Daniel 9.

From both Semitic sources and the LXX it may be concluded, therefore, that the best linguistic evidence currently available supports translating *šāḇû‘a* as “weeks” in Daniel 9:24–27. This word thus carries the year-day principle along with it in the 70-weeks prophecy. Furthermore, its application there may be reasonably extended to the other time prophecies of Daniel.

Weeks and Years in Daniel 9

Daniel's prayer in chapter 9 begins with an appeal to God for the return of His people to their land on the basis of the 70 years Jeremiah prophesied they would be exiled in Babylon (vs. 2; compare Jer 25:12; 29:10). In answer to his prayer, Gabriel assured Daniel they would return and rebuild the temple and capital city. In doing so, Gabriel also delimited another period of prophetic time: 70 weeks. During that period other events, beyond the previously mentioned ones, would take place (Dan 9:24–27).

Since these events could not have been accomplished in 70 literal weeks, it is evident that this later time period was intended to be understood symbolically. The seven-day week provided the model upon which the symbolic units of that time period were based. Thus we find two prophetic time periods in this narrative of Daniel 9—the 70 years at its beginning and the 70 weeks at its end; the one literal, the other symbolic. What is the relationship between these two time periods?

A relationship between them can be seen from the fact that both are prophetic in nature, and the latter is given in answer to the prayer about the former.

A relationship between them can also be suggested on the basis of their location in similar positions in the literary structure of the narrative. This structure may be outlined as A:B:C::A′:B′:C′, in which A and A′ represent the introductory verses 1 and 20–23; B and B′ represent the 70 years and the 70 weeks; and C and C′ represent the rest of Daniel's prayer and the rest of Gabriel's prophecy respectively.

The fact that the prophecy of verses 24–27 *begins* with a time element (70 weeks) instead of ending with it (as is more common in the other prophecies of Daniel; compare 7:25; 8:14; 12:7, 11–12), has the effect of juxtaposing the 70-week period with what precedes it; namely, Daniel's prayer and the 70-year period he mentions as prompting his prayer.

Another way these two time periods are linked is through their common use of the number 70. This is no random selection of numbers. The latter has been directly modeled after the former. The latter time period (the 70 weeks) is *symbolic*. The former (the 70-year period) is *literal*. When a literal time unit is sought with which to interpret the symbolic "days" of the "weeks," therefore, the direct relationship between these two time periods reasonably suggests that the "years" of the former may be selected to serve that function.

These two time prophecies are also related by the fact that both are multiples of seven. When the 70 weeks are multiplied by their individual units, they are found to contain seven times more symbolic units than the literal units of the 70 years (70 years: 490 day-years).

Furthermore, when the symbolic units of the 70 weeks are interpreted according to the literal units of the 70 years, a relationship is produced which parallels the relationship between the jubilee period and sabbatical-year period (Lev 25:1–19). It may be recalled (compare "Leviticus 25:1–7" above) that the years of the jubilee were also measured off in terms of "weeks" in the legislation given about them in Leviticus 25:8. The relationship between Leviticus 25 and Daniel 9 can be outlined as follows:

A Sabbatical Period	A Jubilee Period
Lev 25:1–7 = 7 years	Lev 25:8–17 = 7 weeks of years × 7 (49)
Dan 9:2 = 7 years × 10 (70)	Dan 9:24 = 7 weeks of days × 7 × 10 (490) (apply year-day principle)

Sabbatical year terminology was applied to Jeremiah's 70-year prediction of Babylonian captivity by the chronicler: "to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, *until the land had enjoyed its sabbaths*. All the days that it lay desolate *it kept sabbath*, to fulfil seventy years" (2 Chr 36:21). Since the land rested every seventh year, it is evident that the inspired writer viewed the 70 years of captivity as the sum of ten sabbatical-year periods.

Inasmuch as the 70-year period (referred to by Daniel in verse 2 just prior to his prayer) was understood to relate to the sabbatical-year legislation (Lev 25:1–7), it may be expected that the 70-week period (at the close of his prayer) would be related to the jubilee period. This is the sequence in Leviticus 25:1–17 (sabbatical year-jubilee). Thus the 70 weeks, or 490 years (on the year-day principle), may be seen as ten jubilee periods even as the 70 years were seen as ten sabbatical-year periods.

This relationship was already evident to the Essenes at Qumran in the first century B.C. When writers among them came to interpret Daniel's 70 weeks, they more commonly referred to them as ten jubilees. But jubilees can only consist of years. It is evident, therefore, that they applied the year-day principle to this time prophecy even though all occurrences of the word *šāḇûʿa* that have appeared in the Dead Sea Scrolls published thus far indicate that word only meant "weeks" for them.

Supplementary support for these sabbatical year-jubilee relationships to Daniel's 70 weeks can be found in the fact that they were fulfilled historically through events that occurred in postexilic sabbatical years. The years 457 B.C and A.D. 27 and 34 were sabbatical years.[7]

Summary. *Internally*, the 70 years and the 70 weeks of Daniel 9 relate to each other in five ways: (1) Both are prophetic; (2) both are linked in a sequence of question and answer; (3) both are located in similar positions in the literary structure of the chapter; (4) both are specifically for the Jews; and (5) both use the number 70 and its base of seven.

These relations are strengthened by the *external* parallels between the 70-year and the 70-week couplet in Daniel 9 and the sabbatical year and jubilee couplet in Leviticus 25:

1. *Numerical*. Just as the 70-week or the 490-day-year period is sevenfold greater than the 70-year period (490:70), so is the jubilee period sevenfold greater than the sabbatical-year period (49:7).
2. *Terminology*. Sabbatical-year terminology is applied to the 70-year period (Lev 25:1–7; 2 Chr 36:21; Dan 9:2). Since the land "enjoyed" a Sabbath every seven years, it is evident that the 70-year period of captivity contained ten sabbatical years. In like manner, jubilee terminology is linked to the 70 weeks, for a jubilee period was also measured in terms of "weeks" ("seven weeks [sabbaths] of years," or 49 years). The 70 weeks, or literally the 490 years, therefore, contained ten jubilees.
3. *Qumran*. Inasmuch as the Bible writer (2 Chr 36:21) viewed the 70-year year captivity as a period of ten sabbatical years in which the land kept Sabbath, so it may be inferred that the 70-weeks or 490-year period was to be viewed as a period of ten jubilees. Since the first century B.C. writers in Qumran interpreted the 70 weeks as ten jubilees, it is evident that they consciously employed the year-day principle. It is also evident that they saw a definite link between the time couplets of Daniel 9 and Leviticus 25.
4. *Chronology*. The 70 weeks of Daniel 9 are related also to the sabbatical years of Leviticus 25 through their fulfillment historically in the known postexilic sabbatical years of 457 B.C., A.D. 27, and A.D. 34.

On the basis of these internal and external relationships, it is reasonable to interpret the 70-week period by the calibrations provided by the 70-year prophecy that opened the chapter of Daniel 9 and by the jubilee period. It was linked to both, and both indicate that the period should be interpreted symbolically to represent literal years.

Days in Daniel 8 and Years in Daniel 11

Under “Time Periods That Span Kingdoms” above (page 78) it was noted that prophetic time periods that span kingdoms must be taken to stand symbolically for longer periods of actual calendrical time in order for them to extend through the historical epochs of those kingdoms. The example cited there was that of the time prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27 that began in the Persian period, extended through the Greek period, and came to its conclusion in the Roman period.

The 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 presents a similar but broader picture since they also begin in the Persian period, span both the periods of Greece and Imperial Rome, but extend well into the period after the division of the Roman Empire. This can be seen already in Daniel 8 before any connections are made between it and Daniel 9. The evidence for this comes from the question of Daniel 8:13 to which the time period of verse 14 is given in answer.

The first clause of the compound question is, “how long is the vision?” The question is then qualified by four more phrases that relate to the work of the little horn. These involve: (1) the *tāmîḏ*, or “daily/continual,” (2) the transgression that makes desolate, (3) the trampling of the sanctuary, and (4) the trampling of the host.

The syntax of this question is somewhat unusual in that there is no direct grammatical link between the opening clause and the four succeeding phrases. There is no verb, preposition, or object marker between them. They do not stand in an adjectival relationship, and the presence of a construct chain here is ruled out by the use of the article with the last word of the opening clause and the first noun of the succeeding phrases (“how long *the* vision *the* daily …”).

By process of elimination, the syntactical relationship present here should be interpreted as one of apposition. That gives this question the significance of, “how long is the vision, that is, the vision in which the four following works of the little horn are seen?”

It is important to decide just what vision is referred to in the initial clause of this question, since it is the length of that vision that is measured off by the time period given in answer to this question in Daniel 8:14. There are two alternatives here: Either the vision in question is the whole vision that the prophet has seen up to that point (vss. 3–12), or it is only the portion of the vision that has to do with the little horn (vss. 9–12).

The interpretation adopted here is that the word “vision” in the question of verse 13 refers to the entire vision seen by the prophet up to that point, the vision that is described in the text from verse 3 through verse 12. The following reasons may be offered in support of this interpretation:

1. The elements in the question are recited in an order that is the reverse of what is found in the preceding description. The order in Daniel 8:13 is: (a) *tāmîḏ* + desolation, (b) sanctuary, and (c) host. In the description of the vision in verses 10–12 the order is: (a) host, (b) sanctuary, and (c) *tāmîḏ* + desolation. The reverse order of these elements cited in the question leads naturally back into those elements of the vision that were not explicitly cited in the question, and in its present position the word for “vision” becomes a summary for all of them.

2. If one applies the word “vision” in Daniel 8:13 only to the activities of the little horn described beginning with verse 9, then one really has two visions: one vision about the ram, the goat, and the four horns, and another vision about the little horn. Since no demarcators to support such a division appear in the middle of this vision’s description, and since the vision is described in continuous fashion from verses 3 to 12, there are no grounds in the text for making such an arbitrary division.

3. The use of the word “vision” (*ḥāzôn*) elsewhere in Daniel 8 supports the idea that this occurrence in verse 13 refers to the whole vision of verses 3–12. This word occurs three times in the introduction of this vision in verses 1–2. It is obvious in all three instances that it refers to the whole vision that was seen thereafter. This word occurs next in verse 13; and in conjunction with the three opening occurrences, its location there forms an *inclusio* around the body of the vision proper. The prophet then reacted to the scenes that had passed before him by stating, “When I, Daniel, had seen the vision, I sought to understand it” (vs. 15). The whole vision appears to be in view here since, in response to Daniel’s search for understanding, Gabriel’s explanation began with the Persian ram (vs. 20). In his further references to understanding the vision (vs. 17) and sealing it up (vs. 26) Gabriel also appears to refer to the whole vision of verses 3–12.

The word “vision” or *ḥāzôn* occurs seven times in Daniel 8: three times before the question of verse 13 (vss. 1–2) and three times after it (vss. 15, 17, 26). In all six occurrences the reference seems most likely to be to the whole vision of verses 3–12. Since that is the case with all the other occurrences of this word in this narrative, that is the way it should also be interpreted in the question of verse 13.

This point is further emphasized by the use of the article with *ḥāzôn* in the question (*the* vision). The article is also prefixed to the last three occurrences of the word in this chapter, in verses 15, 17, and 26, and it has been pointed with prepositions in verse 2. It is “the” (whole) vision that is in view here, not just part of that vision.

Elsewhere I have discussed the use of *mar’eh*, another word also translated “vision” in Daniel 8:16, 26, 27.[8]

My conclusion from that discussion is that the word *mar’eh* meant something like “appearance,” that is, the appearance of the angel messenger, or the appearance and conversation of holy personages; whereas *ḥāzôn* is used particularly for the symbolic vision that the prophet viewed. This distinction is especially important in establishing the link between the prophecies of Daniel 8, 9 on the basis of the use of *mar’eh* in Daniel 9:23.

Whatever the shade of meaning of the word *mar’eh*, it does not materially affect the interpretation of *ḥāzôn* in Daniel 8, where that term is applied to the whole of what the prophet saw as described in verses 3–12.

4. This use of the word for vision may also be compared with its use outside of Daniel 8. In two passages in the Hebrew sections of Daniel it occurs as a broadly inclusive collective for prophetic experiences: once in Daniel’s own case (1:17), and once in the case of later prophets (9:24). In three other instances it refers back to visions previously seen by Daniel: the occurrence in 9:21 refers back to the vision of chapter 7 while the occurrences in 10:14 and 11:14 probably refer back to the vision of chapter 8. All five of the occurrences of this word in the Hebrew of Daniel outside of chapter 8 are also inclusive with regard to the vision or visions to which they refer. None of them provides any support for interpreting this word in 8:13 in such a way as to fractionate the preceding vision of 8:3–12 and apply it only to verses 9–12.

Thus all six of the occurrences of this word in Daniel 8 and all five of its occurrences outside of that chapter support interpreting it in 8:13 in an inclusive manner that takes in the whole of the preceding vision of 8:3–12.

5. This inclusive significance of the word “vision” in Daniel 8:13 is also supported by the contrast between the way this question was asked and the way a related answer was given in 12:11.

The first phrase following the opening question of 8:13 involves the daily and the transgression that makes desolate. If one wished to inquire how long the abomination of desolation was to be set up and the daily taken away, one could have inquired directly about these points without using the term “vision” as a qualifying word. For example, a statement is made about these points in 12:11 in which 1290 days were allotted for this, but the qualifying term for “vision” is absent.

Since the qualifying word, “vision,” is the principle difference between these two statements about the daily, that qualification appears to provide the explanation for the difference between these two time periods. The larger overall total of 2300 days is more for the vision, while the smaller figure of 1290 days is more specifically for the daily and the abomination of desolation. The latter which is shorter should be subsumed under the former which is longer and more inclusive.

For the reasons reviewed above, it seems reasonable to conclude that the word “vision” in the question of Daniel 8:13 refers to all of the preceding vision described in verses 3–12.

To determine *the time* for the commencement of the 2300 days given in answer to that question, therefore, one must go back to the beginning of that overall vision. That takes us back to the time of the Persian ram in verses 3–4. From these correlations it may be concluded that the 2300 days began sometime during the Persian period (539–331 B.C.), the precise year being left unspecified here. The implication of these observations has been noted by commentators on Daniel as early as 1684 and as recent as 1978, as the following quotations indicate:

> The Vision of the 2300 *Evenings* and *Mornings*, dates most exactly, and precisely the Time from the very Beginning of the *Persian Monarchy* or the *First of Cyrus* to the *cleansing of the Sanctuary*, at the *new Jerusalem*, and the *breaking of Antichrist without hand*, or by the *stone cut out of the Mountains without hand*, at the Kingdom of Christ, Daniel 8:14, 25.
>
> Those 2300 are not the *Gauge of the daily Sacrifice taken away*, but of the whole *Vision*, from the *Persian* through the *Grecian*, to the end of the *Roman, Antichristian Monarchy*, and *the Kingdom of Christ*.[9]
>
> Furthermore, it should be noted carefully that the question is not merely, “How long shall the sanctuary be trodden underfoot?” but, “For how long is this vision that culminates in the terrible work of the little horn?” The vision actually begins with Medo-Persia, and thus we would expect the 2300-day period should likewise begin in the days of that empire.[10]

The 2300 days of Daniel 8:14 can thus be cited along with the 70 weeks of Daniel 9:24–27 as a time period that spans kingdoms (compare “Time Periods That Span Kingdoms” above, page 78). In order to extend that far in time, its “days” would have to be interpreted as symbolic rather than literal.

The applicability of the year-day principle to this time period can be elucidated even more specifically, however, when these 2300 days are compared with the references to “years” in Daniel 11:6, 8, and 13.

Virtually all commentators on Daniel agree that the literal description of historical events in Daniel 11 provides an interpretation of the symbolic figures and events described in Daniel 8. The “years” of 11:6 belong to Antiochus II; the “years” of 11:13 belong to Antiochus III; and the “years” of 11:8 belong to Ptolemy III. These kings ruled Syria and Egypt respectively in the period that followed the breakup of Alexander’s empire represented by the four horns on the head of the Grecian goat in 8:8.

The conclusion to the preceding discussion of the word “vision” in 8:13 indicates that the overarching period of 2300 “evenings-mornings” or “days” in 8:14 spanned the period through which the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings reigned. What has been described in the symbolic time units of 8:14 has been explained, therefore, in the literal historical time units of 11:6, 8, and 13. The interpretation and explanation of the latter provide the “years” with which to interpret the “days” of the former.

This relationship between Daniel 8 and 11 that provides the year-day principle here, and by extension to the other time prophecies of Daniel, may be outlined as on the following page:

Daniel 8			
	Symbolic Figures	**Symbolic Actions**	**Symbolic Time**
	Ram, goat, horns	Casting down and trampling stars, etc.	Evening-mornings
	King of north King of south	Come against their armies, etc	Years
	Literal Figures	**Literal Actions**	**Literal Time**
Daniel 11			

Pragmatic Test of Historical Fulfillment

Since the year-day principle appears soundly based in Scripture for the reasons reviewed above, its application should produce some interpretive results that could be confirmed from extrabiblical sources where possible.

The 70 weeks of Daniel 9:24–27 provide a case in point for examination. They were to begin with the issuing of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem. The decree for the return given to Ezra who began that reconstruction (Ezra 4:11–16) was issued in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7:7–26). The seventh year of Artaxerxes I can be fixed through classical hisorians, Ptolemy's Canon, the Elephantine papyri, and Neo-Babylonian contract tablets to 458/457 B.C. Jews of that time employed a fall-to-fall calendar (Neh 1:1; 2:1), so Daniel's 70 weeks began in the year that extended from the fall of 458 B.C. to the fall of 457 B.C.

The first seven weeks or 49 years of this period were required for the rebuilding of Jerusalem. No biblical or extrabiblical data relating to the conclusion of this period are extant, so that point is historically neutral as far as demonstrating the fulfillment of this prophecy is concerned.

The next 62 weeks, or 434 years, takes us to the time for the coming or appearance of the Messiah. This was fulfilled by Jesus Christ when He began His public ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, or A.D. 27 (Luke 3:1). (For the fifteenth year of Tiberius as A.D. 27, see especially J. Finegan's discussion of this date in *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*.[11]

The cutting off of the Messiah that brought the significance of the sacrificial system to an end in the midst of the final week should be dated historically in the spring of either A.D. 30 or 31. The chronological data available is not yet sufficiently precise to determine which of these dates is to be preferred over the other.

The stoning of Stephen has been reasonably taken as an event of sufficient significance to mark the end of this prophetic period. This event is not dated in Acts, but its date can be estimated on the basis of the date of Paul's conversion. The most common date for this event advocated by NT chronographers on the basis of Galatians 1 is A.D. 34. The stoning of Stephen probably occurred shortly before Paul's conversion in that same year.

This spectrum of historical dates for these prophetic events fits this prophecy's time periods with sufficient accuracy, given the present state of the sources available, to say that this prophecy was fulfilled in terms of the dates predicted for its events. The year-day principle has, therefore, passed the pragmatic test of meeting its required fulfillments on time in this case.

Pragmatic Test of Predictive Use

In the year A.D. 1689 an English prophetic interpreter by the name of Drue Cressener (1638–1718) published his predicted date for the end of the 1260 days of Revelation 11–13. This particular time period is given in three different ways in these chapters: 1260 days/42 months/3½ times (Rev 11:2–3; 12:6, 14; 13:5). Beginning the prophetic period in the time of Justinian in the sixth century A.D., and by applying the year-day principle to these 1260 days, Cressener came to the conclusion that "the time of the Beast does end about the Year 1800."[12] He applied the symbol of the beast to the papacy, and the pope was indeed deposed in 1798.

Thus Cressener's specification of the year for that event, and it was given in approximate terms, came within two years of the time it actually happened. This he predicted more than a century before by applying the year-day principle to the time period of this prophecy. Considering the time when this interpretation was set forth, this was a remarkably perceptive prediction. The extraordinary chronological accuracy with which Cressner's prediction met its fulfillment lends support to the idea that he had indeed employed the correct hermeneutical tool with which to interpret this time prophecy, the year-day principle.

Summary

In this study twenty-three biblical reasons validating the application of the year-day principle to the time periods in the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel and Revelation have been reviewed. These lines of evidence have been divided into three main categories covering the spectrum of thought from the more general or least specific to the most specific reasons.

In the category of the more general reasons it was noted that the historicist interpretation of these prophecies provides a more philosophically satisfactory view of God's attention to all human history; and thus His prophetic attention to the history of the Christian Era requires longer than literal time periods in these apocalyptic prophecies.

Something adverse or evil for the world or God's people commonly took place during these time periods, and the reversal of those conditions came at their conclusions. In this way they provided microcosms of the economy of sin during which the great controversy between good and evil has been worked out. If these were merely literal time periods, they would not have provided much of a proving ground for that controversy.

Apocalyptic prophecies present a longer range view of history than do classical prophecies. If their time periods are literal, however, they would be considerably shorter than the time periods in classical prophecy. This paradox is best resolved by interpreting the time periods in apocalyptic as standing symbolically for longer periods of actual historical time.

The importance in salvation history of the events involved in these apocalyptic prophecies also emphasizes the point that longer than literal time periods are necessary for their accomplishment. Furthermore, the emphasis on "the time of the end" in some of the prophecies of Daniel implies that their time periods extend down to that "time of the end" and delimit it. Only symbolic time standing for longer periods of historical time could reach that far.

In the intermediate category of somewhat more specific lines of evidence in support of the year-day principle the question of symbolic time versus literal time is dealt with further. Apocalyptic prophecies employ symbolic numbers with symbolic time units in symbolic contexts. These factors converge to support the idea that these references to time should be interpreted as symbolic rather than literal.

In the book of Daniel there is a spectrum of usage for the word "days" that leads logically to their symbolic use when they are quantified in its prophecies. Especially short time periods in apocalyptic, such as the seventieth week, three and one-half, and ten days, are best interpreted symbolically since they provide little interpretive sense on a literal basis. There is a rather direct correspondence between the contents of the prophecies of the trumpets and the plagues in Revelation. The former contain time prophecies, however, while the latter do not. These are best seen as providing symbolic time periods in the historical series of trumpet prophecies that lead up to the eschatological plague series. Time periods that span kingdoms, like those of Daniel 8 and 9, require periods of time longer than those that are literal in character in order to extend that far in history.

For the category of specific evidence in support of quantifying symbolic time in apocalyptic on the basis of a "day" for a "year," some background material from the OT was cited first.

There are a number of instances in the historical narratives of the OT in which the Hebrew word for "days" was used to stand for "years." There are also a number of instances in the poetry of the OT in which the word for "days" stands in parallel with the word for "years." Both of these usages provide a ready background for the kind of thought that could be extended to the more specific quantitative application of this relationship in apocalyptic.

Leviticus 25:1–7 is the first biblical passage in which the year-day equation is applied. In this instance the Sabbath day with its preceding six days becomes the model for the sabbatical year for the land. The jubilee period in turn was reckoned on the basis of the days in seven weeks of years. The jubilee provides an especially apt parallel to the time periods of Daniel 9:24–27.

The next use of the year-day principle is found in Numbers 14:34 where past days were used to reckon future years. The reverse of this is found in Ezekiel 4:6 where past years were employed to reckon future days. A close comparison of the phraseology found in these two passages indicates that they made use of the same year-day principle, but they applied it in different ways. They differ in turn from the usage made of it in Leviticus 25:1–8. On this basis one can reasonably see this same principle extended to yet another use in apocalyptic. That further use comes closest in character to its earliest use in Leviticus 25:8.

A point of particular importance for this principle is the way the word used for the time units of Daniel 9:24–27 (*šāḇûʻa*) is translated. The biblical and extrabiblical evidence currently available indicates that this word should be translated specifically as "weeks."

Since the events of this prophecy could not have been accomplished within a literal 70 weeks, these weeks should be interpreted as standing symbolically for longer periods of actual historical time. The parallel from Leviticus 25:8 provides "years" for the "days" of those weeks. The same point can be made within the narrative of Daniel 9 itself when these days are compared with Jeremiah's 70 years in verse 2. Several aspects of this narrative provide rather direct links between these two time periods and the "years" of the former and the "days" of the latter.

The same point can be made about the 2300 "evening-mornings" or "days" of Daniel 8:14 when they are compared with the years of Daniel 11:6, 8, and 13. Events that occurred during the overarching time span of Daniel 8 are interpreted in greater detail in its explanation in Daniel 11. The years of 11:6, 8, and 13 refer to events that occurred during the Hellenistic period. They parallel the symbolic "evening-mornings" or "days" of 8:14 that began in the Persian period and extended through that same Hellenistic period as well as beyond. Thus the book of Daniel appears to teach the year-day principle twice: once in chapter 9, and once in chapter 8 when it is compared with its explanation in chapter 11.

Finally, the applications made of this principle have been examined to see how well it has worked. This has been done through examining historical dates supplied by extrabiblical sources for the events of the prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27. Within the limits provided by the sources available, they appear to fit together quite satisfactorily.

This principle has also been employed by commentators on Daniel and Revelation to predict events that were still future from their own time. In some instances predictions made on this basis have been fulfilled in a remarkably accurate fashion. The year-day principle appears to have passed both of these pragmatic tests in ways that lend further support to its validity.

In answer to the challenge posed in the introduction to this study it may be concluded, therefore, that the application of the year-day principle to the time periods in the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel and Revelation has been established through reasonable interpretations of Scripture.

Chapter IV

Year-Day Principle—Part 2

Chapter Outline

I. Introduction
II. Synopsis
III. Hellenistic Jewish Literature
IV. Qumran Literature
V. Summary
VI. Post-Qumran Interpreters

Introduction

Having looked at the biblical evidence for the application of the year-day principle to the interpretation of time periods in the apocalyptic prophecies of the Bible, we now turn to the question of when and where that principle came to be applied in the history of prophetic interpretation. The following discussion surveys the earliest body of literature relating to this subject, namely Jewish writings of the intertestamental period.

Jewish interpreters were first and foremost in the application of the year-day principle to the prophecies. Due credit is to be given them as we examine the history of their interpretation. Christian interpreters, of course, have followed suit in their application of this principle as well.

Synopsis

On the basis of recent researches into the Jewish materials of the second century B.C., it has become evident that the year-day principle was known and applied by Jewish interpreters during the second century down to the post-Qumran period. It is no longer tenable to hold that the principle was a ninth century A.D. phenomenon.

However to be purely objective, it should be pointed out that the discovery of the application of the year-day principle in the extrabiblical sources of pertinent Jewish materials does not "prove" that this method of prophetic interpretation was applied by Daniel, nor does it "prove" the correctness of such a method. But it does indicate a very early use by the Jews.

Before turning to the Qumran sources, we will briefly survey the relevant Hellenistic Jewish literature previously known to scholars before the Qumran discoveries.

Hellenistic Jewish Literature

Book of Jubilees

The Book of Jubilees does not make the specific equation: 10 jubilees = 70 weeks = 490 year period. Nevertheless, in this document we find clear evidence of an extensive use of the year-day principle to mark off the historical periods in Israel's past according to the author's scheme or arrangement.

In this work the word for "weeks" is especially instructive. It occurs more than 80 times. It is clear that these references to "weeks" must be interpreted on the basis of the year-day principle.

The principle is used in several ways in the work. A striking example is the computation of Noah's age at his death. His age is first given as 950 years. Then it is given as 19 jubilees, *two weeks*, and five years. Consequently, we have the following equation:

$$950 \text{ years} = \left\{ \begin{array}{lcrcr} 19 \text{ jubilees} & = & 19 \times 49 \text{ years} & = & 931 \text{ years} \\ + & & & & \\ 2 \text{ weeks} & = & 2 \times 7 \text{ years} & = & 14 \text{ years} \\ + & & & & \\ 5 \text{ years} & = & 5 \text{ years} & = & \underline{5 \text{ years}} \\ & & & & 950 \text{ years} \end{array} \right.$$

The use of the year-day principle is evident in this example from the way the word for "weeks" (2 weeks × 7 days = 14 days [= years]) was used in combination with jubilees and years.

Testaments of Levi

The *Testament of Levi* is one section of the intertestamental pseudepigraphical work known as the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

An examination of this document reveals that its chronological system is composed of an overarching time period of 70 weeks that "Levi" foretells will be a time of priestly wickedness. It is evident that the author intended to divide this period into 10 jubilees (although in the document he discusses events only up through the seventh jubilee). The seventh jubilee is subdivided into weeks (with emphasis on fifth and seventh).

Since jubilees can refer only to a period of years, it is evident that the "weeks" of the 70 weeks period and of the fifth and seventh weeks of the seventh jubilee were taken as composed of day-years. Thus it is evident that the author employed the year-day principle when he composed his chronology.

1 Enoch 89–93

In this passage two time units may be noted: (1) the 70 time periods—each governed by an angelic shepherd—extending from the divided monarchy to the Maccabean period, and (2) the ten "Great Weeks."

While these time units do not employ the year-day principle, two elements—the number 70 and the unit of weeks—have been drawn from Daniel 9:24–27 and transformed by the author to present a totally different account. This kind of treatment suggests that Daniel was written before 1 Enoch, which is dated to the second century B.C. Furthermore, it is recognized that these units in 1 Enoch stand for symbolic, not literal, time.

Qumran Literature

11 Q Melchizedek

This remarkable eschatological document from Qumran provides information relating to a future Melchizedek figure. The date for his appearance is given in terms of a prophetic chronology based upon sabbatical and jubilee years.

Important scholars have concurred that the Melchizedek document is based upon Daniel's prophecy of the 70 weeks (Dan 9:24–27). However, the time period of 70 weeks is rearranged as ten jubilees, clearly indicating that the "weeks" were viewed as weeks of years.

This document provides evidence that (in Qumran thought) jubilees—which could only consist of years—were to be subdivided into weeks. Therefore, the interpretation of its time periods required the use of the year-day principle whether or not it is explicitly stated in the portions of the text that have survived. The document indicates that the principle was used by at least some Jews at Qumran.

4 Q 384–390 Pseudo-Ezekiel

In this document we find evidence for 10 jubilees, or 490 years. While the jubilees of 490 years were most likely to be broken down into their smaller components, there is no evidence from the surviving portions of this text that they were. On the other hand, a jubilee delimits a period of years only. Thus we can safely infer that whenever jubilees are mentioned, their weeks were to be divided into seven individual years whether explicitly stated or not.

Like the 11 Q Melchizedek document, this fragmentary unpublished document derives its building blocks from Daniel's 70 weeks, but it presents them in a rearranged form. In the few lines published it is noteworthy to observe the specific calibration of "a week of years." This kind of identification is left unspecified in the canonical prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27.

4 Q 180–181 The Ages of Creation

The second section of the surviving passage from this document deals with a period of 70 weeks. During this time span the evil angel Azazel was to lead Israel astray into sin and forgetfulness of God's commandments.

Although the year-day principle is not explicitly stated, it must be employed in order to make any historical application of the 70 weeks of Azazel regardless of whether one dates them in the middle of the second millennium B.C. or in the second half of the first millennium B.C. Without the year-day principle this text would have been unintelligible to its ancient readers, and yet that principle is not stated in its surviving portions and probably was not stated in the original text when it was whole.

Summary

In short, the year-day principle can be seen at work in these ancient Jewish writings briefly surveyed. Four of the texts discuss a prophetic time period of the same length, given either in terms of 70 weeks or as 10 jubilees. The authors of these documents have most likely put the date for the commencement of this prophetic period toward the end of the sixth century B.C. Thus the 490 years, or approximately five centuries that these 70 weeks/10 jubilees would cover, would extend to about the end of the first century B.C. These documents thus reinforce the general idea that the period of time between the end of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D. was, indeed, a time when the Messiah was expected.

The evidence for the use of the year-day principle in these Jewish documents is derived from the way the writers use the word "weeks." The biblical origins of this practice (which these later writers have followed) can be traced back to Daniel 9:24–27, for here the same word is used in the same way.

Post-Qumran Interpreters

Josephus

Josephus applied the "little horn" of Daniel 8 to Antiochus Epiphanes (*Ant*. 10. 275–276). He took the time element of the prophecy as literal time, stating it to be 1296 days (*Ant.* 10.271). This figure is apparently a garbled form of the 1290 days assigned in Daniel 12:11 to "the abomination of desolation" which he substituted for the 2300 evening-mornings (or days) originally in the passage of Daniel 8:14. The 1296 days are approximated to the three literal years the Temple service was disrupted by Antiochus.

Josephus' use of the 1290 days here is indirect evidence, incidentally, for the fact that he probably understood the 2300 evening-mornings as longer, not shorter than the 1290 days. That is, he evidently understood that they should not be divided in half to make 1150 days, a procedure that would have suited his interpretation better had he accepted it as the time unit involved.

Although it is not entirely clear, it seems that Josephus understood Daniel 9:24–27 as containing a reference to the Romans and their destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple by them (*Ant.* 10.276). If so, such a view would require him to interpret the 70 weeks as symbolic. Thus the evidence for his use of anything like the year-day principle is indirect and may only be proposed for this particular passage.

Early Rabbinical Interpreters

As to early rabbinic sources we will note only the *Seder Olam*, a document attributed to Rabbi Jose ben Halafta (second century A.D.). Chapters 29–30 may be regarded as a kind of exposition on Daniel 9:24–27. However, the author tailors the chronology to span the period between the burnings of the first and second Temples. In other words the author sees 10 jubilees = 70 sabbatical cycles = 490 years elapsing from Nebuchadnezzar's overthrow of the nation and its temple to the Roman conquest by Titus. To expand the 70 weeks of Daniel to fit this era assumes that the "weeks" are to be taken as symbolizing longer periods of actual time on a day for a year scheme.

4 Ezra

This pseudepigraphical apocalypse from about A.D. 100 makes use of the word for "week" as a "week of years" on the basis of the year-day principle in two passages. The most interesting one refers to a seven-year long judgment that would precede the messianic kingdom. "And its duration shall be as it were a week of years. Such is my judgment and its prescribed order" (4 Ezra 7:43).

This apocalypse employs the word for "week" as representing (by means of the seven days of the week) a period of seven years. The year-day principle is thus made explicit here since the "week" is identified as one "of years."

Assumption of Moses

In this possibly first century A.D. document, a time element is mentioned that suggests it was interpreted symbolically rather than in a literal sense. Moses is quoted as saying, "From my death and assumption until the advent of God there shall be 250 times." According to Charles these "times" are probably to be taken as year-weeks. Thus 250 times would equal 1750 years (250 × 7) that were to pass between the two events referred to. Thus if the death of Moses would be dated around the middle of the second millenium B.C., the time period would then end early in the Christian Era.

Chapter V

Judgment in Daniel 7

Chapter Outline

I. Introduction: Recent Literature
II. Literary Structure
III. Poetic Structure and Exegesis
IV. Date of the Judgment in Daniel 7
V. Nature of the Judgment in Daniel 7

Introduction: Recent Literature

Major contributions have been made recently to our understanding of Daniel 7 by two Seventh-day Adventist scholars. Arthur Ferch has studied the identity of the Son of man (in Daniel 7:13)[1] and Gerhard Hasel has considered the identity of the saints of the Most High (in Daniel 7:18, 21–22, 25, 27).[2]

In contrast to a sizeable number of modern commentators who take the Son of man in 7:13 as a corporate figure standing for the saints,[3] Ferch came to the conclusion that in context this figure represents an individual eschatological heavenly being who, at the end of the age, displays certain messianic characteristics on behalf of the saints, and who shares with them an eternal dominion and glory and kingdom.[4]

Hasel understands "the saints of the Most High" to be the holy remnant—the nucleus of a new people—who stand in a right relationship of faith, trust, and obedience to God. The remnant constitutes the elect of God and is the carrier of the covenant promises. This conclusion is in sharp contrast to that of recent scholarship which interprets "the saints of the Most High" in Daniel 7 as angelic rather than human beings.[5]

Thus the conclusions of Ferch and Hasel are that the Son of man in Daniel 7 represents an individual heavenly Being who receives the kingdom at the end of the age and who exercises His rule on behalf of the saints of the Most High, that is, the earthly people of God. These conclusions are accepted as valid and are given further support in what follows.

Literary Structure

Contents of the Chapter

This study of Daniel 7 will concentrate on the vision of the judgment as it was seen transpiring in the heavenly court. The prophecy was given to Daniel sometime during the first year of Belshazzar's coregency, about 550 B.C. In contrast to Nebuchadnezzar's dreams in chapters 2 and 4, the vision of chapter 7 was given only to Daniel. It stands as the primary vision of his later ministry. The subsequent visions and prophecies are in many ways elaborations upon this primary vision.

Daniel saw the "four winds of heaven" blowing upon the great sea and stirring it up (vs. 2). Out of this commotion four successive beasts symbolizing kingdoms came forth: a lion, a bear, a leopard, and a terrifying beast that was more difficult to describe because it did not resemble the preceding beasts nor others known in the natural world (vss. 3–7).

One or more principal characteristics of each of these beasts is mentioned. The heart of a man was given to the lion. The bear devoured much flesh and had three ribs in its mouth. The leopard had four wings and four heads; and the fourth beast had great strength, ten horns, and trampled everything in its path.

From among the ten horns of the fourth beast came a little horn that grew up and rooted out three of the preceding horns. The little horn had human eyes and a mouth speaking great things (vs. 8).

From these earthly scenes of strife and contention for political supremacy the prophet's view was then lifted to heaven where he beheld the commencement of a great assize, or judgment, in the presence of God (vss. 9–10).

His attention was then diverted back to the earth where he saw the body of the fourth beast burned and destroyed (vs. 11). Parenthetically, it is mentioned that the preceding three beasts did not meet such an immediate end (vs. 12).

The prophet's view was then shifted back to heaven where he saw one like a Son of man come to the Ancient of days who was presiding over the judgment scene. The Son of man was given an eternal kingdom in which all peoples, tongues, and nations would worship Him forever (vss. 13–14).

The consecutive portions of the recorded vision end at this point. The prophet has been shown two earthly scenes (vss. 3–8, 11–12) and two heavenly scenes (vss. 9–10, 13–14). His view was shifted back and forth between them in an A:B:A:B order. The vertical dimension (earth-heaven) of this vision is of intrinsic interest and is also of importance when compared with the vision of chapter 8.

Startled by what he had seen, Daniel naturally asked what it meant (vss. 15–16). His angelic interpreter first gave him the brief explanation that four kingdoms would arise out of the earth, but that the saints of the Most High would eventually receive the kingdom and occupy it "for ever and ever" (vss. 17–18). This reply conveyed the essence of the vision from the first of the four beasts to the final and everlasting kingdom of the saints.

Daniel then directed his inquiry to the latter portion of the vision, from the fourth beast to its end. In so doing, he formed his question almost verbatim from those portions of the vision described in verses 7–8, and he concluded his question with three final phrases about the judgment and its results in verses 19–22. The angel interpreter then gave a more detailed interpretation of that portion of the vision considered in Daniel's lengthy question (vss. 23–27). The narrative concludes with a brief epilogue in verse 28 that describes how troubled Daniel was about this experience.

Structure of the Vision

From this description of the contents of the chapter it can be seen that the record of the vision, the prophet's experience in viewing it, and the interpretation of it given to him, follow a relatively straightforward outline. Furthermore, this report appears to have been given through the particular literary vehicle of a chiasm or palistrophe, as Ferch has outlined recently in his thesis. That outline is borrowed here with some of my own alterations in his terminology.[6]

I. Preliminary view of the earthly kingdoms (vss. 2b–3)
II. Details of the vision (vss. 4–14)
  A: First three beasts (vss. 4–6)
    B: Fourth beast (vs. 7)
      C: Description of the little horn including its verbosity (vs. 8)
        D: Commencement of the judgment (vss. 9–10)
      C′: (Fate of) the little horn and its verbosity (vs. 11a)
    B′: Fate of the fourth beast (vs. 11b)
  A′: Fate of the first three beasts (vs. 12)
        D′: Conclusion of the judgment: the kingdom given to the Son of man (vss. 13–14)

In order to balance the first element in the outline, an alternate arrangement could be made by identifying the last element as:

III. Final view of the heavenly kingdom: the kingdom given to the Son of man (vss. 13–14).

Structure of the Chapter

This vision passage can now be set in the broader context of the entire chapter, including the prophet's reaction to the vision and the angel's interpretation of it. For this purpose Ferch's outline of the chapter has been adapted here with minor alterations in terminology.[7]

A: Prologue (vss. 1–2a)
  B: The vision proper (vss. 2b–14)
    C: The prophet's first brief reaction to the vision (vss. 15–16)
      D: The angel's first brief interpretation of the vision (vss. 17–18)
    C′: The prophet's second and more lengthy reaction to the vision (vss. 19–22)
  B′: The angel's second and more lengthy interpretation of the vision (vss. 23–27)
A′: Epilogue (vs. 28)

Not only was the vision proper described in the form of a palistrophe, but the narrative of this chapter as a whole appears to have been described in a similar fashion. The first brief statement of interpretation given by the angel occurs at the center of this narrative describing the essence of the prophecy from the first beast-kingdom to the final kingdom of the saints. At this point in our study these aspects of literary structure are only of aesthetic interest and serve as a memory device to keep the contents of this prophecy easily in mind. However, they will be seen to be exegetically significant for establishing the chronological location of the judgment scenes.

Poetic Structure and Exegesis

Three major blocks of material in Daniel 7 are written in poetry (vss. 9–10, 13–14, 23–27). The first two are the prophet's description of the heavenly scenes set before him. He uses poetic form to describe only those scenes in which he viewed the heavenly court. None of the earthly scenes are recorded in poetry, and none of the heavenly scenes are written down in prose. The distinction is clear-cut in the use of the form in which he communicates what he saw.

There is no evidence from the vision that he was instructed to use poetry to describe what he saw transpiring in heaven, nor is there any evidence for an audition of poetry at any time during the vision. Casting this material in poetic form was probably Daniel's own spontaneous reaction to the grandeur and majesty of the scenes that passed before him.

The accompanying angel gives Daniel his final interpretation in poetic form. The interpretation illumines that portion of the vision dealing with the fourth kingdom, the little horn, the destruction of the little horn, and the establishment of the kingdom of God's saints on earth. With the exception of the passing reference to the judgment in verse 26a this is entirely a description of successive events that are to transpire on earth. Thus the angel who brought this interpretation to Daniel makes a different use of the poetic form than did the prophet. This pattern for the use of poetry is a characteristic of OT classical prophecy. It is also observed in the poetic form of the prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27.

The relationship between these two passages in the book is interesting in view of the fact that both the interpretation of 7:23–27 and the prophecy of 9:24–27 were given by the angel Gabriel. Gabriel is referred to in Daniel 9:21 as the one whom Daniel had seen in the vision "at first" (Hebrew, *teḥillāh*). Which vision was that? Daniel 8:1 refers back to the vision of chapter 7 as the vision which was given "at first" (*teḥillāh*). Since the same Hebrew word is used in Daniel 8 and 9, we may assume that the mention of the vision given "at first" in Daniel 9 refers to the vision of Daniel 7. Thus it must have been Gabriel who appeared to Daniel in the vision of chapter 7 as his angel interpreter.

There is a reciprocal relationship in the poetry used in chapters 7 and 9. Daniel who was from earth spoke only of heaven in poetry, while Gabriel who was from heaven spoke of what was to transpire on earth in poetry.

Since much that is of importance to us in the consideration of this prophecy is contained in its poetic sections, an analysis of those special sections is appropriate for the insights this kind of literary form will provide. Our analysis will start then with a literal translation of the passages.

Daniel 7:9–10

Theme	Verse	Translation	Parallelism and Meter*	Verbal Forms**
—		I kept looking	ext	pt + pf
A:	9a	Until thrones were set and One ancient of days sat;	synt, 3:3	pf pf
B:	9b	His garment (was) white like snow, and the hair of His head (was) pure like wool;	syn, 3:4	exist
C:	9c	His throne (was) flames of fire, Its wheels (were) burning fire.	syn, 3:3	exist
C′:	10a	A stream of fire preceded and went forth before it;	syn, 3:3	pt pt
B′:	10b	A thousand thousands served Him, ten thousand ten thousands stood before Him;	syn, 3:4	impf impf
A′:	10c	The judgment sat, and books were opened.	synt, 2:2	pf pf

The beautiful balance of this powerful description of theophany in judgment is readily apparent. The six bicola (or couplets) employed in this description are thematically related in the same chiastic pattern of A:B:C::C′:B′:A′ that we found previously in apocalyptic. This is evident from the meter, from the types of parallelism employed, and from their thematic and lexical relations.

A + A′. The use of the plural "thrones" in verse 9a has raised the question among commentators about who was to sit on them. A study of the poetic relations in the chiasm indicates that the angelic host of verse 10b is described in verse 10c as sitting on them. This explains why a singular noun and verb were used in verse 10c—"the judgment sat." Why did Daniel not say that *those* in attendance at the judgment sat down? The answer is that to have done so would have required a plural subject and verb. This would have destroyed the correspondence of the phrase ("the judgment sat") with the earlier expression ("One ancient of days sat"). Thus the same verb, *yeṯiḇ* (to sit), is used in verse 9a for God and in verse 10c for the angelic host who sat down with Him in judgment.

This direct verbal relationship is further emphasized by the verbs used along with *yeṯiḇ* (to sit) in these two bicola. They are both perfect passive plural verbs. Thus verse 9 reads, thrones "were cast, placed, set" (*remîû*); and verse 10 states, books "were opened" (*peṯîḥû*). Thus the relation of these two sets of verbs in verses 9a and 10c in their respective sequence is:

vs. 9: A verb in the perfect, passive plural form ("were placed"): *yeṯiḇ*. (to sit).
vs. 10: *Yeṯiḇ* (to sit): a verb in the perfect passive plural form ("were opened").

In this manner these two sets of verbs form an inclusio around this stanza and bind it together. This binding effect is further emphasized by the fact that both bicola are written in synthetic parallelism in contrast to the synonymous parallelism of the other couplets, and by the fact that they are the only bicola in this stanza to employ verbs in the perfect. (See the chart above giving translation, meter, and verb forms.)

B + B′. The thoughts expressed in verses 9b and 10b may not appear at first to be directly related. Upon closer inspection, however, it can be seen that the first refers to the person of God; the second to the persons of the angels gathered before Him. Therefore, there is a relationship of persons being paired in these two corresponding bicola.

The use of the suffixed pronouns emphasizes this relationship. In verse 9b the pronoun "his" is suffixed on the nouns ("his garment," "his head") at the beginning of the two cola; while in verse 10b the pronoun "him" is suffixed on the verbs ("served him," "stood before him") at the ends of the two cola; thus providing a perfect poetic balance between "his" and "him."

These two bicola are also balanced, in that they are written in the same 3:4 meter. The use of this particular paired meter in the two bicola required the alteration of normal grammatical expression. For example, in verse 9b the prophet-poet speaks of "the hair of his head" instead of the simple phrase, "his hair." In the second colon of verse 10b he inserts a preposition ("before") to which he suffixed the pronoun ("him"), instead of simply suffixing it to the verb as he had done in the first colon of verse 10b.

The synonymous parallelism employed in these two bicola is also direct and complete in both cases. Another similarity may be noted in their similar order of sequence. For example, in verse 9b both cola consist of a noun ("garment") or noun phrase ("hair of His head") that is linked to its predicate nominative ("white," "pure") by way of a comparative preposition ("like") in a pattern of A:B::A:B in terms of poetic form. In verse 10b the numerical statements ("thousand thousands," "ten thousand ten thousands") of both cola are each followed by their verbal statements ("served," "stood") in the same pattern of A:B::A:B.

These parallel and advancing numerological statements of verse 10b ("thousand thousands" to "ten thousand ten thousands") are interesting in view of the use of this poetic technique elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible and in Canaanite poetry. For example, the description of the angelic host in verse 10b proceeds from a smaller numerical statement about them to one that is larger and more comprehensive. The Hebrew Bible uses a number of similar numerical poetic pairs:

1. The 1/2 sequence—Job 33:14; Ps 62:11
2. The 3/4 sequence—Prov 30; Amos 1–2
3. The 6/7 sequence—Prov 6:16; Job 5:19
4. The 7/8 sequence—Mic 5:5; Eccl 11:2
5. The 60/80 sequence—Song of Sol 6:8
6. The 70/80 sequence—Ps 90:10
7. The 1,000/10,000 sequence—1 Sam 18:7; Ps 91:7

Examples in Canaanite literature of the use of this type of poetic technique are seen in the "Legend of King Keret" that has been pieced together from a series of texts found in the thirteenth century B.C. destruction level at Ugarit on the Syrian coast. King Keret's story includes the use of 2/3, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, and 70/80 sequences.[8]

It is evident that this kind of expression was an ancient poetic way of expressing completeness. The ultimate numerical pair in Daniel 7:10, therefore, takes in so vast an assembly in this heavenly assize that even this kind of comparison does not adequately describe in human terms the vast numerical extent of the assembled throng.

C + C′. The two central bicola of this stanza, verse 9c and verse 10a, develop the same theme—the glory surrounding the throne of God. The expression of that glory is conveyed through the use of the word "fire" (*nûr*), that occurs in three of the four individual cola ("flames of fire," "burning fire," "stream of fire"). In addition, fire (or glory) is obviously the subject of the verb in the second colon of verse 10a ("and [fire] went forth before it").

A minor translation problem is involved in interpreting the masculine pronominal suffix attached to the preposition "before" in the second colon of verse 10a. Is the antecedent of this pronominal suffix "God" or His "throne"? Since these two bicola are parallel to one another, and since the subject is clearly identified as God's throne in verse 9c, the literary structure suggests that the pronoun at the end of verse 10a should be translated "it" ("went forth before it"), referring to the throne rather than "went forth before Him" as various English translations have rendered it.

When God is described at the beginning of this stanza as sitting, it is not stated precisely where He was sitting. The implication of the first colon of verse 9 is that He was sitting upon a throne; but as has been seen above, the reference to "thrones" appears to designate the seats the angels were to occupy when they sat down with Him in judgment. God's own personal throne is identified and described more specifically in the heart of this stanza, in the couplet consisting of verses 9c and 10a.

It is both interesting and important to note that this description underlines the idea of motion onto the scene of action. Just as flames of fire are active rather than static, so their use to describe God's throne presents a vibrant and dynamic picture of it. The wheels of His chariot-throne are described as a "fire of burning." The implication is that it was through some kind of locomotion related to these wheels that, riding upon His throne, God came into the audience chamber where He met with His angelic host. A comparison can easily be drawn with God's chariot throne described in detail in Ezekiel 1. The motion of that chariot-throne also conveyed the Deity to His temple for judgment.

The parallelism in the bicolon of verse 9c is synonymous and complete since both of its cola consist of nominal subjects ("thrones," "wheels") followed by predicate nominatives ("flames," "fire"). A comparative preposition ("like") could be understood from the preceding bicolon ("like snow," "like wool").

Note that this bicolon, like the preceding one, is an existential statement (a state of being). Thus this pair of bicola leading to the center of the poem have the same type of verbal structure (existential). The following bicola—those on the other side of the center of the poem—contain pairs of participles and verbs in the imperfect form. These reflect the idea of ongoing action as the prophet viewed the scene before him.

One minor alteration is found in the parallelism of verse 9c. Both of its cola involve nominal phrases as predicates ("flames of fire," "burning fire"), but they are written in different ways. The end of the first colon of verse 9c has the relative pronoun (*dî*) first, then followed by the word for fire ("flames *dî* [of] fire"). The second predicate nominative of this bicolon consists, on the other hand, of a construct chain in which the word for fire comes first ("fire of burning"). Thus the overall pattern of the bicolon in verse 9c is A:B:C::A′:C′:B′. A kind of mini-chiasm occurs here at the end of this bicolon leading to the center of the poem.

A chiasm of another type occurs on the other side of the center of this stanza in the bicolon of verse 10a. The first colon of this bicolon begins with a nominal subject ("a stream"), and it ends with a verb ("preceded"). Its second colon begins with a verb ("went forth") and ends with a prepositional phrase ("before it"). Thus its pattern is A:B::B:C, in which the verbs are arranged back-to-back at the end and beginning of their respective cola. Thus a partial chiasm occurs at the end of verse 9c and another one occurs in verse 10a. These two chiasms bridge the center of the poem. This illustrates the general rule that chiasms in biblical poetry commonly occur at the center of the poems in which they are found.

The two bicola from verses 9c and 10a which form this C:C′ couplet at the center of the stanza are written with the same 3:3 meter. They also convey complimentary ideas. The first describes God's glorious throne; the second depicts its movement.

A study of the verbs in verse 10a gives support to the latter idea. The Aramaic *pa'el* participle *nāgēḏ* (preceded) which occurs at the end of its first colon derives from the same root as the preposition *negeḏ* which means "toward, in the direction of." The idea appears to be that flames of fiery glory flowed or poured forth in front of the throne in a specific direction.

The second participle, *nāpēq*, expresses the same idea, since it means "to go forth, come forth," and is used here with the preposition "before." Daniel 2:13 uses this verb to refer to the decree that "went forth," and in Daniel 3:26 it expresses Nebuchadnezzar's command to the three Hebrew worthies to "come forth" from the fiery furnace. Even though the more specific subject of these verbs in verse 10a is the fire from the throne rather than the throne itself, they nevertheless convey the idea of motion and direction: the throne of God moved and came to the place where it was to be established.

Thus both of the verbs of this bicola indicate that the flames appeared in front of the chariot-throne, flashing "toward" the position to which the throne was bearing its divine occupant. The emphasis of this stanza upon the throne of God (rather than upon God Himself) appears to be due to the prominence of its activity in bringing God into this scene of judgment.

Having outlined the poetic relations between the units of this stanza, we may consider briefly some final details.

The first bicolon of this stanza begins with the Aramaic preposition *'aḏ*, "until" (vs. 9a). This connecting link with what went before in the vision implies that Daniel had gazed at the little horn and its actions for some time before his attention was directed elsewhere. Compare verse 4.

The phrase "ancient of days" (vs. 9) is written without the article in contrast to the succeeding stanza in which it is written with the article (vs. 13). This could be cited as an example illustrating the point that the presence or absence of the article is not of great significance. However, in this particular phrasing, it may be that the article was used in the second instance for a particular reason. (See following discussion on verses 13–14.) If the *nûn*—the Hebrew letter corresponding to the English *n*—of *'attîq*, the word used here for "ancient," had not been assimilated, it would be more readily recognized as the loan word that has come into English as "antique."

The existential type of verbal statements ("was"/"were") in verse 9b and 9c is balanced by the pairs of participles ("preceded"/"went forth") and imperfects ("served"/"stood") used in verse 10a and 10b. The imperfects in verse 10b are of interest, especially the second one ("stood"). The verb comes from the root *qûm* and more commonly means to "arise, get up, stand up." The more common Hebrew verb used to express the simple notion of standing is *'âmaḏ*. However, in contrast, the root meaning of *qûm* could indicate the idea of "arise."

In this context the emphasis may not be so much on the hosts continuing to stand before God as upon their rising to demonstrate their honor and respect for Him as He arrives in His chariot throne.

Regardless of whether one translates this verb "to stand" or "to stand up," that is to "arise," it is obvious that it describes an action that is the antithesis of the actions described by the next verb in the stanza, "to sit." Since it is the angelic host that is standing in verse 10b, and since the "judgment" in verse 10c is a collective of some sort, it seems that the angelic host is involved in the act of sitting. The angels are probably also involved in the following action of opening the books for God.

The picture, therefore, is that of the hosts of angels standing up before God as He enters into a court setting and takes His position upon the dais in His glorious chariot throne. The angels then take their seats to begin the business of the heavenly court.

This stanza concludes with the shortest bicolon of them all. The meter is written in 2:2, and its verbs are in the perfect ("sat"/"were opened"). This section brings the preparations for the judgment to a fitting and punctiliar close.

The actual acts of judging are not described here; we are only provided with a picture of the commencement of that judgment This is one way of emphasizing the fact that what is undertaken here is a new divine act of judgment in contrast with those views of judgment from the tabernacle and temple elsewhere described in the OT.

As a concluding note to the poetic analysis provided above, it may be observed that this stanza conforms to the canons of classical poetic expression from OT times. It ranks along with the best of the other examples of these poetic techniques. This lends minor support to an early date for Daniel since the use of the classical canons of Hebrew poetry faded from Jewish literature in the last centuries B.C.

Daniel 7:13–14

Verse	Translation	Parallelism and Meter*	Verbal Forms**
—	I saw in the visions of the night	ext	pt + pf
13a	And behold, with the clouds of heaven	synt, 4:4	—
	One like a Son of man came;		pt + pf
13b	And to the Ancient of days he reached,	syn, 4:2	pf
	and before him they brought him near,		pf
14a	And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom,	synt, 5:5	pf
	and all the peoples, the nations, and the languages shall worship him;		impf
14b	His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away,	syn, 5:3	impf
	and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed.		impf

The poetic structure in these verses is not chiastic as in verses 9–10. Rather, the passage is in the nature of a pair of parallel couplets. These may be outlined as on the following page:

I. The Son of man, verse 13
   1. His arrival 13a
   2. His presentation 13b

II. The kingdom, verse 14
   1. Its presentation 14a
   2. Its nature 14b

The meter expressed in the bicola of this stanza is longer than that found in the preceding stanza (vss. 9–10). Even though the preceding stanza was written with six bicola and this with four, the length of this stanza almost equals that of the preceding one with a total of 32 stress accents, compared with 36 in the preceding stanza.

Only one of the four bicola in this stanza—the second—is as short meterwise as any of those found in its predecessor. The meter of this stanza also lengthens progressively so that the first bicola of these couplets goes from 4:4 to 5:5, and the second bicola goes from 4:2 to 5:3. The former are balanced (4:4, 5:5), and the latter are unbalanced (4:2, 5:3).

Thus the couplets follow the same pattern, with the exception that the second couplet is longer than the first. In this way a climax is built. The apex of the poetic crescendo of the two stanzas may be found in the 5:5 bicolon, which tells about the kingdom being given to the Son of man.

The first bicolon of the stanza starts with the exclamation, “behold!” It calls attention to how deeply the prophet was involved with this scene as it passed before him. (Compare similar references throughout the vision in verses 2, 7–9.)

The verbs used for the approach of the Son of man to the Ancient of days are different in all three cases (“came”/“reached”/“brought near”). In the first instance a compound construction is used with a participle of the verb “to come” and a perfect of the verb “to be” (*ʾāṯēh h^{a}wāh*). This construction is another way to express the past tense (“One … *came*”). The second verb is a simple perfect of *metāh* (to come, reach, arrive). The third verb is also a perfect, but it is a plural written in a causative form from the verb *qerēḇ* (to come near, before). The antecedent subject of this plural verb is “the clouds of heaven” (vs. 13a) with which the Son of man came.

The use of three different kinds of perfect verbal constructions to describe the movement of the Son of man to the Ancient of days emphasizes that movement as a process. The verbs suggest that he came closer and closer and closer to the Ancient of days.

The same feature is emphasized by the poetic structure in which this movement is couched. The meter of the first bicolon is 4:4, giving it a total of eight stress accents. A compound verb is found at the end of its second colon. The first colon of the second bicolon also contains four stress accents, and the verb likewise is found at its end. Finally, the second colon of the second bicolon contains only two words or stress accents, and the verb is again located at its end.

Thus we have three different types of poetic units written with a decrescendo meter as the Son of man came closer and closer and closer to the Ancient of days. That meter goes from an eight-stress accent bicolon with the verb at the end, to a four-stress accent colon with the verb at the end, to a two-stress accent colon with the verb at the end.

There is a similarity between the first half of this stanza (vs. 13) and the first half of the preceding stanza (vs. 9). The Son of man comes on the scene of action just as the Ancient of days also comes. In contrast to the description of the Ancient of days, this stanza does not further depict the Son of man. In neither case is the location explicitly stated from which either of these Persons enters the scene.

The use of the definite article in the first bicolon is interesting. It is used in the expression “*the* clouds of heaven,” perhaps suggesting they were more specifically something like clouds of angels rather than merely atmospheric clouds.

On the other hand, the absence of the article in the phrase “Son of man” is conspicuous. If one takes the absence as significant, the phrase is most accurately translated, “a son of man.” But that this “Son of man” also partakes of divine characteristics is evident from the fact that he comes with “the clouds of heaven.” Such phraseology is reserved elsewhere in Scripture for theophanies.

There is an interesting balance of usage in the Aramaic portions of Daniel between the phrases, “Son of man” and “Son of God.” In an earthly context Nebuchadnezzar saw someone like “a son of gods” (also written without the article) as the fourth personage in the fiery furnace with the three Hebrew worthies. That reference is balanced by this view of one “like a Son of man” found in a heavenly context.

Both couplets of this stanza follow the same pattern: first synthetic and then synonymous parallelism in their respective bicola. The parallelism of the first bicolon is synthetic since it first identifies “the clouds of heaven” as the vehicle involved, and then identifies the Son of man as the personage borne by that vehicle. The second bicolon describing the arrival of the Son of man before the Ancient of days is essentially synonymous parallelism and uses prepositional phrases and verbs in the same A:B::A:B pattern.

The first bicolon of the second couplet is likewise synthetic since it first indicates that the kingdom is to be given to the Son of man. It then elaborates to define the all-inclusive nature of that kingdom. The second bicolon expresses the eternal nature of that kingdom in synonymous parallelism by the use of similar terms. (Positively stated, the dominion is eternal; negatively stated, the kingdom is indestructible.)

Just as in the first stanza (vss. 9–10), a chiasm also occurs at the center of this stanaza in verse 14a. It begins with a prepositional phrase—*p* (“and to him”); that is followed by a verb—*v* (“was given”); this in turn is followed by three nouns—*n* (“dominion,” “glory,” “kingdom”). These describe the nature of realm given to the Son of man.

The second colon of this same bicolon begins with three nouns (“peoples,” “nations,” “languages”), and these are followed in turn by a prepositional phrase (literally, “to him”) and a verb (“shall worship”). Thus the pattern of this bicolon may be diagramed as: Ap-v:Bn-n-n::B′n-n-n:A′p-v. This chiastic form emphasizes the discontinuity between the nature of the kingdoms of this world and the kingdom of the Son of man to come.

The use of the article is again of interest in this bicolon. None of the three singular nouns in its first colon have the article (“dominion,” “glory,” “kingdom”). On the other hand, all three of the plural nouns in the second colon have it (“*the* peoples,” “*the* nations,” “*the* languages”). The difference in the use of the article places emphasis upon the unified nature of the Son of man’s all-embracing rule. That rule is over every possible element which may be conceived as coming under its sphere.

The parallelism involved in the last bicolon (vs. 14b) of this stanza is incomplete. A phrase stated in the first colon is to be understood as repeated in the second: “His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom [an everlasting kingdom] one that shall not be destroyed.”

In verse 14a the verb referring to the giving of the kingdom to the Son of man is in the passive voice (“was given”). It is obvious that the active agent who gives the kingdom to the Son of man is the Ancient of days, for that is why the Son of man is presented to Him.

The expression “the Ancient of days” is written in this stanza (vs. 13b) with the definite article (“*the* Ancient of days”). This is in contrast with the indefinite state of the same title in the preceding stanza. The use of the article is significant here in that it probably provides a link between the two stanzas by indicating that it was this same Ancient of days previously referred to in the judgment scene who would give the Son of man the kingdom.

This relationship emphasizes the thematic connections between the content of these two stanzas. The Ancient of days comes upon the scene in the first, and the judgment begins. In the second stanza the Son of man comes upon the scene at the end of that judgment, and it is as a result of that judgment that the kingdom is conferred upon him. In brief, therefore, these two stanzas provide us with two pictures of the judgment: its beginning and its end. Their separation into two poetic stanzas, between which a piece of prose intervenes, suggests that some time was to elapse between the realization of these two events. The course of the judgment in between them is not described.

The second verb (“shall worship”) in the bicolon, which refers to the kingdom being given to the Son of man (vs. 14a), is particularly important to note. Its root, *pelaḥ*, identifies the action in which all of the nations, peoples, and tongues will participate as worship. The Son of man is thus to be worshiped by every human being who will populate his new worldwide and eternal kingdom. This is another indication of the divine character of the Son of man, since only a divine supra-angelical personage like the Ancient of days is worthy of such worship. The extent and nature of the kingdom to be given Him also suggests that the Son of man is divine in character.

The word used for “dominion” (*šalṭān)* is related to our loan word “sultan.” No future person or power such as those represented by the preceding beasts and horns are to receive or to take this dominion from Him. In contrast to the kingdoms represented by the beasts and horns, the kingdom of the Son of man will never be destroyed. The shift in the tense of the verbs employed in the stanza emphasizes this point.

Verbs in the form of the Hebrew perfect occur throughout the stanza until its last three lines or colons. These verbs may be described as “prophetic perfects,” as are also the verbs in the first and last bicola of the preceding stanza (vss. 9–10). (The “prophetic perfect” is an expression used to designate a phenomenon in the Hebrew language in which a *future* event is stated in the perfect form of the verb as though it had already happened.) This usage of the perfect is common to OT prophecy.

With the last lines of this stanza, however, there is a shift to *imperfects* (“*shall* worship,” “*shall* not pass away,” “*shall* not be destroyed”). These verbal expressions do not emphasize so much the future occurrence of this kingdom as they do its ongoing and enduring nature. The last two verbs that express this idea (“shall not pass away, shall not be destroyed”) are paired together at the end of the last bicolon of the stanza. The second of them is even written in a reflexive conjugation that conveys the idea of repetitive action, thus doubly emphasizing the ongoing nature of that enduring eternal kingdom.

Verse	Translation	Parallelism and Meter*	Verbal Forms**
	Thus he said of the fourth beast,	ext	pf
23a	There shall be a fourth kingdom on the earth, which shall be different from all the kingdoms,	synt, 4:4	impf impf
23b	And it shall consume all the earth, and it shall trample it and crush it.	syn, 2:2	impf impf + impf
	And of the 10 horns,	ext	
24a	From this kingdom ten kings shall arise, and another shall arise after them;	synt, 5:3	impf impf
24b	And he shall be different from the former ones, and he shall bring three kings down;	synt, 4:3	impf impf
25a	And he shall speak words against the Most High, and he shall wear out the saints of the Most High,	synt, 4:3	impf impf
25b	And he shall seek to change times and law, and they shall be given into his hand for a time, two times, and half a time.	synt, 4:6	impf + inf impf
26a	But the judgment shall sit and they shall take away his dominion,		
26b	to destroy and annihilate it to the last.	synt, 4:3	impf + impf inf + inf
27a	And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High;	synt, 2:4:4	— — impf
27b	His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all the dominions shall serve and obey him.	synt, 3:5	— impf + impf

A certain amount of poetic balance may be seen in chapter 7 when its three poetic passages or stanzas are compared. If the bicola of the first two stanzas are added together, they are seen to nearly equal the bicola of this third stanza (10 bicola::8 bicola and 1 tricolon). Furthermore, the first six bicola of the third stanza (vss. 23–25) equal the six bicola of the first stanza (vss. 9–10); and the two bicola and one tricolon of the third stanza almost equal the four bicola of the second stanza (vss. 13–14).

The consecutive order of this narration outlined in the third stanza is emphasized by the continuous use of the imperfect form of the verbs throughout (vss. 23–27). Following the introductory perfect, which puts Gabriel's speech in past time, 18 imperfects appear in the consecutive course of this narration. The three infinitives in it take their time reference from the imperfects with which they are linked. This use of the imperfect as the narrative verbal form for the description of future actions stands in contrast with the "prophetic perfects" found in Daniel's description of his vision as mentioned above in the analysis of the two preceding stanzas.

In addition, a dozen perfects appear in the narration of the vision that runs from verse 2 to verse 8, along with three more compound verbal constructions expressing past time. This frequency stands in contrast with the three participles, two imperatives, and one imperfect that are found in the prose passage. Thus chapter 7 presents a distinct differentiation—an almost classical instance—of the use of tenses to prophesy future events. The perfect is used to narrate its vision, and the imperfect is used to narrate its interpretation. The synthetic nature of virtually all the parallelisms employed in the bicola also emphasizes the consecutive order of its narration.

The first bicolon of the couplet dealing with the fourth kingdom (vs. 23) begins and ends with the word "kingdom." (Literally, "*Kingdom*, the fourth, shall be on the earth which shall be different from all the *kingdoms*.")

The verbal construction of the second bicolon in the same verse emphasizes the intensive nature of the destructive actions of this kingdom since three verbs ("consume," "trample," "crush") appear in its two cola. A pair of them are linked together in its second colon ("shall trample … and crush"). This construction is of interest when it is noted that the same arrangement occurs only in verse 26 where the angel states how thoroughly the judgment will dispose of the kingdom of the little horn ("shall take away," "destroy," "annihilate").

Another observation on the verbs of the second bicolon in verse 23 is that they occur in short lines with a 2:2 meter. This kind of meter is commonly used to describe physical activity in contrast to the longer meters that serve more descriptive functions.

The words for "king" and "kingdom" are used synonymously in this passage. Although the little horn is identified as a "king" (vs. 24a), it is preceded by the fourth kingdom, followed by the kingdom of "the people of the saints of the Most High," and has its "dominion" taken away by the judgment. Thus the term "king" in this context can stand for a "kingdom" just as it does in verses 17 and 23, where the four beasts are designated both "kings" and "kingdoms." See also Daniel 2:37–39; 8:22 for a similar interchange of the terms.

Verbal forms from *qûm*, "to arise," occur twice in the bicolon of verse 24a. Their usage here lends support to the meaning suggested for this verb in the first stanza describing the heavenly hosts at the judgment (see discussion on verse 10). The words "another" and "after" found at the end of verse 24a are related, being derived from the same Aramaic root. They are separated from each other in this line by the repeated expression "arise."

The same verb, "to differ, be different," is used in verse 23a and in verse 24b. Just as the fourth kingdom was different from the preceding three kingdoms, so the little horn differs from the preceding 10 kingdoms. The verbs in the bicolon in verse 24b ("shall be different, shall bring … down") are found at opposite ends of their respective cola in the Hebrew text. This chiastic arrangement contributes to the imagery of the falling horns.

A cognate accusative relationship ("*speak—words*," a verb and its noun object deriving from the same root) is broken up by a prepositional phrase in the first bicolon of verse 25a. The line reads literally: "And *words* against the Most High he *shall speak*."

The parallelism involved in this bicolon is direct, but incomplete. The prepositional phrase ("against …"), the reference to the Most High, and the verbs ("shall speak," "shall wear out") all follow in order in both cases. The "saints," however, have taken the place of the "words," and the term appears in construct with the Most High ("saints *of* the Most High"). Thus the pattern of the bicolon is A:B:C:D::B′:C′:D′. This bicolon takes on more interest when its relations with the succeeding one are noted.

The bicola of verse 25 form an interrelated couplet in which the thematic relations between the individual cola are organized in the A:B::A′:B′ pattern as on the following page:

vs. 25a$_1$	A	And he shall speak words against the Most High,
vs. 25a$_2$	B	and he shall wear out the saints of the Most High;
vs. 25b$_1$	A′	And he shall seek to change times and law,
vs. 25b$_2$	B′	and they shall be given into his hand for a time, two times, and half a time.

This arrangement means that the words directed against the Most High (vs. 25a$_1$) relate or pertain in some manner to God's times and law according to verse 25b$_1$. In like manner, the persecution of His saints spoken of in verse 25a$_2$ is to continue through the period of time delimited in verse 25b$_2$. Thus the thoughts expressed in verse 25b parallel and supplement the thoughts expressed in verse 25a in true poetic fashion. Other links between these two bicola may be observed. For example:

In verse 25a the verbs ("shall speak," "shall wear out") come at the end of the cola; in verse 25b the two verbs ("shall seek," "shall be given") come at the beginning. Thus these two sets of verbs are placed back-to-back and link their respective thoughts. A nominal object ("words") occurs at the beginning of the first colon of verse 25a; a nominal object ("law") occurs at the end of the first colon of verse 25b. The use of the infinitive ("to change") in verse 25b$_1$ requires that the letter *lamed* be prefixed to it in the middle of that colon; *lamed* is also used as a preposition ("against") in the middle of verse 25a$_1$. Thus there is a chiastic relationship between these two cola of A:B:C::C′:B′:A′.

A similar chiastic relationship can also be seen when verse 25a$_2$ is compared with verse 25b$_2$ in the Hebrew textual arrangement. The order is—prepositional phrase ("to/for saints"): verb ("shall wear out")::verb ("shall be given"): prepositional phrase ("into his hand"). These chiastic relations express the disruptive power of the little horn.

The lengthy wording of the temporal phrase that comprises the last statement of verse 25 ("for a time, two times, and half a time") makes this the longest colon in the stanza in terms of its meter. This brings the little horn to the climax of its work. But all that work is to be undone by the judgment described in the next verse (verse 26). The saints referred to at this point in time are the people of God living on the earth.

It has been proposed—and reasonably so—that the juxtaposition of "times" and "law" in this verse (vs. 25) represents a case of hendiadys, a grammatical construction in which two coordinate words connected by "and" express a single idea, and in which one of the terms defines the other.[9]

This means that it is in regard to the law that the little horn will attempt to change times. Since, according to our poetic analysis, this is the law of the Most High, and since the Ten Commandments are the highest expression of His law, and since the fourth precept of that moral code is the particular one that has to do with time, an attempt by the little horn to tamper with the Sabbath would fulfill that aspect of its work described here.

The phrase "the judgment shall sit" (vs. 26) is identical with the phrase "the judgment sat" (vs. 10). The minor difference is that the form of the verb has been changed from a perfect in the vision to an imperfect in the explanation. Obviously, it is the judgment depicted earlier (vss. 9–10) that will take away the dominion of the little horn.

The plural subject and verb, "they [those who sit in the judgment] shall take away his dominion," evidently refers back to the angelic personnel involved in the heavenly court as we observed earlier (vss. 9–10).

The verb used for "take away" is the same that is used in verse 14 regarding the dominion of the Son of man that will *never* be taken away. The intensive verbal construction that describes the destruction of the little horn in the second colon of verse 26 ("to destroy and annihilate it to the last") has already been discussed above in connection with the parallel construction in verse 23.

Verse 27 contains the only tricolon in these three stanzas. It tells about the reception of the kingdom by the saints of the Most High. This action reverses the fate they suffered earlier under the little horn (vs. 25). The verb ("shall be given") occurs in the third colon. The first two cola describe the kingdom they are to receive.

The first colon refers to "*the* kingdom" and "*the* dominion," using the definite article. They are in reverse order to their earlier occurrence in connection with their reception by the Son of man (vs. 14); they also occur in that passage without the article. These differences appear to be intentional and could serve to differentiate the Son of man from any corporate figure for the saints as a collective.

The grammatical construction implies that the Son of man receives dominion or authority over the kingdom, and then gives the saints the kingdom or territory with attendant authorization for its use. The kingdom they receive is *that* one and the same kingdom He received and has given to them; hence, the use of the article in their case is reasonably viewed as an article of previous reference.

The middle colon in the tricolon ("the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven") is a parenthetical elaboration on the extent of their kingdom. While this localizes the kingdom to the earth, it is also all-encompassing in that it is the whole earth that is granted to them. Thus in addition to the primary statement that the kingdom will be given to the saints, the extent of that kingdom is also emphasized. If the first two cola were to stand alone, they would be called a synonymous bicolon. However, the third colon, which adds the further thought about who will receive the kingdom, makes this tricolon synthetic, following the A:A:B pattern with its thematic elements.

The final bicolon of this stanza (vs. 27) is particularly important for differentiating between the Son of man in the preceding stanza (vss. 13–14) and the saints of the Most High in this one. The poetic relations between the final bicola of these two stanzas underscore that differentiation. At the outset it may be noted that the final bicolon in the third stanza does not start with a conjunction. Considering the fact that all of the preceding bicola and the tricolon that follow from verse 24 on are connected with conjunctions. This disjunction is stylistically distinctive and emphasizes its thematic differentiation.

The way one translates the pronominal suffixes in the final bicolon obviously has much to do with how one interprets the relations of this poetic unit. As they stand in the Masoretic text, the suffixed pronouns are in the third person masculine *singular* form. It is *his* kingdom that is everlasting, and it is to *him* that all dominions shall give worship and obedience. The connection with the Son of man in the preceding stanza is clearly evident, if these translations of the pronouns are retained.

The pronouns can only be disposed of, as has been done by some modern English versions, by emending the text; that is, by changing the pronouns from the singular ("his," "to him") to plural forms ("their," "to them"). Manuscript evidence for the support of such an emendation is lacking.

In addition, the prepositional *lāmeḏ* ("to, for") occurs ten times previously in the chapter with the singular pronominal suffix; it occurs only twice with the plural suffix. In neither of the latter is the plural suffix used in such a way as to identify the saints with the Son of man. One would expect Daniel to have used the same plural suffix, if he intended to refer to the saints of the Most High. Thus it is evident that the translations adopted by some ("*their* kingdom" and "all dominions shall serve and obey *them*" [literally, "to them"]) do not follow the Aramaic text. In the two plural examples we have in the chapter, *lehôn* in verse 12 refers to the beasts, and in verse 21 to the saints, in this manner: the little horn prevailed "over them." However, as noted above, neither of these two uses of the prepositional *lāmeḏ*, and the plural suffix identifies the saints with the Son of man.

Thus several aspects of lexical relations already indicate that the saints should be differentiated from the Son of man. In addition, it will be seen that certain poetic relationships reinforce that differentiation even more strongly.

For example, it is to be noted that the bicolon with which the third stanza ends (vs. 27b) is not really a new literary creation, for it reuses the elements found at the end of the preceding stanza (vs. 14). The first colon of this bicolon is borrowed from the first colon of the final bicolon of the preceding stanza. It will be noted that the terms "dominion" and "kingdom" have been reversed (as they are also in verse 27a) from their order in verse 14.

vs. 14b$_1$	*Šālṭānēh šālṭān ʿālam*
	"*His* dominion is an everlasting dominion"
vs. 27b$_1$	*malkûṯēh malkûṯ ʿālam*
	"*His* kingdom is an everlasting kingdom"

To emend the suffix in verse 27b$_1$ to read *hôn*, *their* kingdom, as the RSV does, breaks up this parallelism. This emendation misaligns this phrase in verse 27 with its previous counterpart in verse 14. It is unacceptable from the standpoint of comparative poetic analysis.

The second colon of verse 27 ("and all the dominions shall serve and obey him") demonstrates even more complex relations with the statements penned by the prophet at the end of the previous stanza (vs. 14). In verse 14a the first thing given to the Son of man is "dominion"; the second colon begins with the different groups of mankind who will worship/serve Him.

Now in the last colon of verse 27, several elements have been transposed into it from verse 14. "All" and the article are retained. The term "dominion" has in effect been coalesced with "peoples," etc., to yield the plural, "dominions"; and the verb for "worship/serve" has also been retained. The anticipatory suffixed preposition (*lēh*, "[to] him") is also transposed and precedes the same verb in both cases:

vs. 14a$_2$	*wekōl ʿammayyāʾ … lēh yiplеḥûn*
	"and all the peoples … shall worship/serve *him*"
vs. 27b$_2$	*wekōl šālṭānayyāʾ lēh yiplеḥûn*
	"and all the dominions shall worship/serve *him*"

Again, to emend the pronoun from "him" to "them" would break up this natural parallelism; the phrase of verse 27 would no longer be in line with the antecedent colon in verse 14 to which it is related. Considering the fact that parallels from two cola are involved, such conjectural emendations become doubly unlikely.

The final phrase of verse 27 has two verbs. The first ("shall worship/serve") is conjugated as an imperfect. The second, deriving from a verb root meaning "to hear, hearken, obey," appears as a reflexive conjugation. Both convey in this setting the notion of repetitive action. (The last verbs in verse 14a$_2$ and verse 14b$_2$ are also written in the same conjugations and in the same sequence though not together as in verse 27.) This final verbal pair ("shall worship"/"serve and obey him") conveys in even more decided terms the ongoing and everlasting nature of the kingdom of God to come.

Given the poetic relations described above, it seems evident that the same person praised and worshiped at the end of verse 14 is also praised and worshiped at the end of verse 27. The saints of the Most High obviously are not worshiping themselves in the latter instance.

As a result of the judgment, the Son of man is given the kingdom (vs. 14); and all the nations are to worship Him as a result of that decision. The saints of the Most High also receive the kingdom as a result of the same judgment, but one aspect of life in the kingdom that they are given is to worship Him. He should be the one, therefore, who gives the kingdom to them, just as the Ancient of days is the one who gave the kingdom to Him. The two figures of the Son of man and the saints are separate and distinct; the former need not be taken as the corporate image of the latter, as the poetic relations discussed above indicate.

Further supplementary evidence for making a distinction between the Son of man and the saints comes from the realm in which they operate. The Son of man receives the kingdom from the Ancient of days in heaven in the presence of the angelic host, but the saints receive the kingdom upon the earth "under the whole heaven." There is no confusion in terms of the prophecy between the realms in which these two figures operate.

There is no explicit reference in this passage to a coming of the Son of man to earth. That idea is revealed in the NT, but it is not evident in this passage. Had we only Daniel 7 to consider, we would not know that it was the intention of the Son of man to come personally for His saints. As far as the contents of this prophecy per se is concerned, He could have ruled over their earthly kingdom from a heavenly throne set up beside that of the Ancient of days or from some other appropriate heavenly location. This is further evidence that the Son of man should not be confused with the saints of the Most High in this chapter.

But that He will act on their part is already strongly implied from the relations described above, and it becomes even clearer as the prophecies of Daniel progress into chapters 8 and 12. When the saints are described as receiving the kingdom in verse 27a, it is its worldwide extent that is emphasized. But its eternity comes to the fore only when it is discussed in connection with the Son of man. It seems evident that it derives its eternal nature from His rule.

Date of the Judgment in Daniel 7

While no specific date is given for the judgment in the chapter, an approximate date can be established. Before addressing the point, however, some preliminary remarks should be made about what Daniel saw on the one hand regarding the judgment, and what he was told but did not see. Once this is done, the relations of the three references in the chapter to the judgment can be aligned with their respective contexts, and a prophetic date can be suggested for it in terms of the sweep of history.

Supplements to the Initial Description of the Vision

New elements are introduced in Daniel's second question (vss. 19–22) that were not noted previously in his initial description of the vision. A new element—the saints' reception of the kingdom—is also introduced by the angel interpreter in his response to Daniel's first question for further explanation (vss. 16–18). Does this point about the saints' reception of the kingdom that Daniel includes in his second question (vss. 19–22) refer back to what the prophet had seen in the vision or to the first answer of the angel? Additional details to the original description are added in the interpretation the angel gives to Daniel's question.

Since Daniel's second question (vss. 19–22) is basically a rephrasing of his initial description in verses 7–8, a preliminary step in approaching this question is to align these two passages to see what new elements appear in the later verses. The new elements thus disclosed can then be evaluated in terms of origin. The translation from the next page is from the RSV.

It may seem excessive to our modern western ways of thought for Daniel to repeat the content of the vision for the sake of forming his question. But this is a good example of the ancient Semitic manner of thinking about things—a thought pattern in the form of parallelism. The classical illustration in the OT is the book of Job in which the essence of the speeches is repeated almost *ad nauseam*, to our way of thinking. Far from losing the attention of the Semite, this kind of speech and writing built a story up to an even greater climax.

Daniel 7:7–9, 14	Daniel 7:19–22
After this I saw in the night visions, and behold, a fourth beast, terrible and dreadful and exceedingly strong; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. It was different from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another horn, a little one, before which three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots; and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things.	Then I desired to know the truth concerning the fourth beast, which was different from all the rest, exceedingly terrible, with its teeth of iron and claws of bronze; and which devoured and broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet; and concerning the ten horns that were on its head, and the other horn which came up and before which three of them fell, the horn which had eyes and a mouth that spoke great things, and which seemed greater than its fellows.
	As I looked, this horn made way with the saints, and prevailed over them,
As I looked, thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days took his seat; …	until the Ancient of days came,
	and judgment was given for the saints of the Most High,
and to him [the Son of man] was given dominion and glory and kingdom.…	
	and the time came when the saints received the kingdom.

The differences between the first two verses of Daniel's question (vss. 19–20) and the preceding description of the vision are minor. For example, "the claws of bronze" were doubtlessly seen by the prophet in the vision but were passed over in his first description. Other differences involve matters of phraseology and the order of the remarks—none of which present a serious contrast with the first passage.

The really significant differences begin with verse 21 where the war that the little horn was to make upon the saints is mentioned for the first time. This aspect of the little horn's activity is neither mentioned in the initial description of the vision nor in the angel's reply to Daniel's first question. The same is true of the reference to judgment being given for the saints. One might argue that the destruction of the beasts (vs. 12) represents judgment being given for the saints, but that could only be assumed if the persecution of the saints had already been seen in the vision. But the persecution of the saints is not part of the original description of the vision either.

The reference to the coming of the Ancient of days is obviously drawn from the first of the two preceding scenes of the judgment (vss. 9–10). The final reference to the saints receiving the kingdom forever could have come from the angel's response to Daniel's first question ("the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom, … for ever, for ever and ever." (vs. 18). As we have already seen, the Son of man's reception of the kingdom is not the equivalent of the reception of the kingdom by the saints. Thus this reference is not to be seen as drawn from that second and closing scene of the judgment recorded earlier (vss. 13–14).

The most likely interpretation of the origin of the first statements concerning the saints is that they were seen in the vision but were not included in its initial description. These facts are now stated because the prophet is filling in details he had not previously mentioned.

There appear to be two main alternatives to explain the origin of the final phrase about the saints' reception of the kingdom (vs. 22). Either the prophet had seen this event in the vision and did not record it in his initial description, or he took the concept from the conclusion of the angel's answer to his earlier question (vss. 16–18). In view of the fact that the two previously mentioned references to the saints were probably seen in the vision, there is no strong reason against explaining the origin of this latter reference to them in the same way. The close proximation of this phrase to the vision in verse 21 suggests that the reception of the kingdom by the saints was seen in it also.

Thus the most likely interpretation for three additional references to the experience of the saints (persecution of the saints, judgment for the saints, and the saints' reception of the kingdom) is that they probably do refer to what was previously seen in the vision but not recorded in Daniel's initial description. Thus both Daniel and the angel interpreter fill in for the reader details of the vision as the narration continues.

Outline of Related Events

The substance of the vision is stated essentially three times in the chapter: (1) the initial description of the vision (vss. 1–14), (2) Daniel's second and lengthy question about the vision (vss. 19–22), and (3) the angel's second response (vss. 23–27). The matter of particular importance for us in this study is the judgment and its contextual setting. The events and their order of sequence from the heart of these three passages are as follows.

	Daniel 7:8–14	Daniel 7:20–22	Daniel 7:24–27
1.	Little horn arises	Little horn arises	Little horn arises
2.	Three horns downed	Three horns downed	Three horns downed
3.	Speaks great words	Speaks great words	Speaks great words
4.	——	Persecutes saints	Persecutes saints
5.	——	——	Changes law/times
6.	Anc. of days comes	Anc. of days comes	——
7.	The judgment sat	——	The judgment sits
8.	Beast body burned	Judgment for saints	Horn destroyed
9.	* Son of man's kingdom	——	——
10.	——	Kingdom to saints	Kingdom to saints
11.	——	——	* Son of man's kingdom

The place of the judgment in Daniel 7 has thus been established in its prophetic context and framework through the preceding studies of literary structure, poetic analysis, and thematic and linguistic relations. The ties that have been developed in this way have located this judgment in a particularly important juncture in the flow of this prophetic narration.

It is this judgment that demarcates in a final manner the transition from the kingdoms of this world to the eternal kingdom of God. This fact already says something about when the judgment is to take place. However, a more definite chronological location can be proposed from the way one interprets the other prophetic symbols of this chapter. It is these symbols that provide the contextual setting for this judgment scene.

Historical Date for Judgment

Elsewhere the three main schools of interpretation of these symbols have been discussed and evaluated. Here we need only note that the historicist approach to the interpretation of this prophecy has been adopted in this study. This approach outlines the four powers symbolized by the four beasts of this chapter as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome.

Following the divisions of the Roman Empire, a new power arose on the scene of action. That new power represented by the little horn is the center of attention for a considerable portion of this prophecy. Given the origin of the new power at this particular time in the flow of history, and given its satisfactory fulfillment of the characteristics ascribed to it in this prophecy and others, historicist interpreters have commonly identified this power as the papacy. That conclusion is a logical development from following the principles of interpretation held by commentators who belong to this school of thought.

Since an important function of this judgment is to respond to and pass sentence upon that historical entity and its actions, this judgment must naturally be convened sometime during its existence. This already gives us a preliminary date for the commencement of this judgment. It is only natural to expect that this judgment would convene to do its work sometime during the latter portion of the little horn's career. Only then would this power have time to develop the aspects of its work as described in this prophecy.

It is also noted that one result of the end of this judgment is the end of the little horn power. Thus there is good reason to date this judgment scene sometime during the latter portion of its career as the outlines of Daniel 7:8–14 and verses 19–22 indicate in a general way.

It is the third stanza of this prophetic poetry, however, that presents the most precise date for the judgment. This stanza contains the only time element mentioned in this chapter: the 3½ times (vs. 25). The reference to the 3½ times is located just before the judgment session (vss. 25–26).

It has been noted already that the imperfect form of the verbs in this stanza is used as the normal narrative tense with which to describe successive events. Since the statement that "the judgment shall sit" follows immediately after the 3½ times of persecution in the order of the text, and since they are connected by the continuing use of imperfect verbs, it is evident chronologically that this judgment follows the end of the 3½ times period.

On the historicist basis of applying the year-day principle to the 3½ times (compare Rev 12:6, 14), and by connecting this time period with significant historical events, the date of A.D. 1798 is established for the end of the 3½ times. Thus the judgment is to be convened sometime after 1798.

The prophecy of Daniel 7 itself does not demarcate the end of the little horn. It only delimits the end of this period of its persecution of the saints. Just how long after the end of the 3½ times the judgment was to be convened is not spelled out here. This point can only be refined by an examination of the information available in the succeeding chapters of Daniel 8 and 9.

The chronological conclusion should be emphasized again: In terms of the contents of Daniel 7 itself, the judgment depicted here should have convened sometime after 1798. The events that stem from the convocation of this session of judgment should naturally follow thereafter, according to the logical order of the prophecy.

Alternatives

Other dates, of course, have been suggested for these scenes in Daniel 7 by scholars working from other presuppositions, methods of exegesis, or schools of interpretation. One illustration that might be noted in particular is the treatment given to the second stanza of prophetic poetry that contains the description of the Son of man's reception of the kingdom (vss. 13–14). In his book, *New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes*, F. F. Bruce sums up Christ's first advent fulfillment of various OT perspectives. Sacred history, he notes, has reached its climax in Him with the offering and acceptance of the perfect sacrifice. Not only is the promise confirmed, but types also are fulfilled. In Christ the Prophet like Moses appeared, the Son of David reigns, the Servant of the Lord was smitten, and the Son of man received dominion from the Ancient of days.[10]

But to interpret Daniel 7:13–14 to mean that Christ, the Son of man, received the kingdom from the Ancient of days *at His ascension* would obviously date this prophecy to A.D. 31. Can such an interpretation be sustained from the text of Daniel? Is this what the prophet saw according to the description of the scene from his vision?

In order to make such an identification, two main approaches may be taken: (1) One must either remove this block of material from its context, or (2) move the whole framework in which this passage is found to a period earlier than that proposed by the historicist principles of interpretation.

Moving the whole framework to an earlier time is done by applying the principles of the preterist school of interpretation to the prophecy. Such a procedure involves certain difficulties. For example, the second beast must be identified as Media, the third as Persia, and the fourth as Grecia. According to this school of thought, the little horn represents Antiochus Epiphanes, who came from one of the divisions of Alexander's empire. This interpretation's difficulties need not be belabored here. What can be done is to see how this interpretation would fit with the connection Professor Bruce has proposed for the Son-of-man passage.

The preterist interpretation of Daniel 7 argues that Antiochus Epiphanes is the fulfillment of the little horn of this chapter. This not only requires his identification as the persecutor of God's people, but it also requires that the divine court be called into session sometime during his reign to judge him, lift his persecution of the Jews, and take away his dominion. Aside from problems in historical fulfillment discussed below, the scale of heavenly participation in this session of the divine court appears too grand for just Antiochus. Something scaled down to the order of Ahab's judgment from the heavenly court (see 1 Kgs 22) would have been adequate and appropriate in Antiochus' case.

The preterist interpretation conjectures that the motive for the writing of this prophecy was to give the Jews courage to endure persecution and strength to throw off the yoke of their oppressor. Hartman and Di Lella's recent Anchor Bible volume, *The Book of Daniel*, provides an example of this kind of application to the passage.[11]

The Son of man in this school of thought is identified with the saints—especially those who have endured Antiochus' persecution. As a result of the judgment, the kingdom that was to be given to the saints should have been realized in the Maccabean kingdom. Unfortunately, the Maccabean rulers were far from saintly, and their kingdom lasted less than a century, not the "for ever, for ever and ever" of the prophecy (7:18).

Any resemblance between the picture of the judgment of Daniel 7 and its intended results and what actually transpired in the history of Palestine in the second century B.C. is purely coincidental. If the unknown author of Daniel (so this school of thought) wrote his work while riding the crest of a wave of enthusiasm resulting from the liberation and purification of the temple late in 165 B.C., then perhaps he can be forgiven for his excesses in his unfulfilled expectations! The last glimmer of any such hopes being realized as a result of these developments in the second century B.C. flickered out with the Roman conquest in 63 B.C., a century before Jesus ascended to heaven.

Those interpreters who would apply Daniel 7:13–14 to Jesus' experience at the time of His ascension in A.D. 31 (while pagan Rome ruled the Near East), are caught upon the horns of a dilemma: If they accept the preterist point of view (which moves the whole framework of Daniel 7 to an earlier time), then the divine court should have met in session and bestowed the kingdom upon the Son of man in the second century B.C. If they accept the historicist point of view, then the divine court should have met in session and bestowed the kingdom upon the Son of man sometime after 1798. The futurist interpretation has not been discussed, because it would remove this scene even farther from Jesus' ascension.

Thus the preterist interpretation of Daniel 7 is too early for an application to be made to Jesus in A.D. 31, and the historicist and futurist interpretations are too late in the course of human history to make an A.D. 31 application to Jesus. Thus it is evident that there is no legitimate biblical basis for applying the heavenly court session and the bestowal of the kingdom on the Son of man during the days of the Roman Empire and the time of Christ's ascension. Furthermore, inasmuch as Daniel 7:9–10 and 7:13–14 are so intimately connected, one might also ask why it would be necessary to open the books of investigation at the time when Jesus returned to heaven and His priestly ministry was beginning, not ending.

Since there is no reasonably well established method of interpreting this passage within its context in such a manner as to apply it to Christ's A.D. 31 ascension, the only alternative is to lift it from its setting and apply it to the ascension without regard to context. Such an exegetical procedure might be legitimate, if one could find it used in this manner by an inspired NT writer.

Many commentators have suggested that Jesus may have intentionally identified Himself with the Son of man figure in Daniel by applying that title to Himself. This observation may well be correct; however, it does not follow that each time He used the title He intended thereby to identify the events transpiring about Him with those events described in Daniel 7. To establish such a connection, it would be necessary for the title to have been used in a NT context that could be identified with the events described in our passage of Daniel 7.

It is sometimes argued that a link is made with Daniel 7:13–14 in Jesus' proclamation to the disciples just before His ascension: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me" (Matt 28:18). It should be noted, however, that Jesus did not use the title "Son of man" in this context. Furthermore, the reference to "authority" (*exousia*) does not employ the same political terminology such as "dominion" (*kratos*, *kuriotēs*) and "kingdom" (*basileia*), as is found in Daniel 7.

If Jesus intended to indicate that Daniel 7:13–14 was fulfilled on this occasion, He took a very roundabout way of doing so. He could have been more direct and said something like the following:

> Dominion, glory, and kingdom have been given to me,
>   all peoples, nations, and tongues worship me.
> And this dominion is an everlasting dominion,
>   and this kingdom shall never be destroyed.

Whatever else Jesus claimed for Himself at the time of His ascension, it is not at all clear from any recognizable lexical relations that He claimed that Daniel 7:13–14 was fulfilled for Him then. Historically He would have been wrong had He claimed such, since all the "peoples, nations, and tongues" (*kōl ʿammayyā' ʿumayya' weliššānayyā'*) did not worship Him then (*lēh yip̱leḥûn*), and still do not do so. Since no NT writer can be cited who applies this passage out of its context, any attempt by a modern interpreter to do so is unwarranted. Making such an application of Daniel 7:13–14 runs all the risks of the proof-text method of exegesis in which context receives little attention.

The historicist interpretation of the whole schema of Daniel 7 remains the method of interpretation that is grounded in the most reasonable application of the entire passage. On historicist principles we may date the commencement of the judgment described in Daniel 7 sometime after 1798.

Nature of the Judgment in Daniel 7

Having established in general terms the date for the judgment in Daniel 7, we move to the question that has to do with its nature. What is the function of this judgment, and who is to be judged by it? Although the decisions reached in this session obviously have something to do with the little horn, is that the only focus of this judgment? How directly are the subsequent events described in this chapter (Christ's reception of His dominion, and the saints' possession of the kingdom) related to this judgment as results stemming from it? These are some of the areas that should be addressed in treating the subject of the nature of the judgment in Daniel 7.

Investigation in Judgment

The question whether this judgment is "investigative" or not deserves some consideration. In the first place, the use of the term "judgment" (vs. 10) to refer to these scenes in heaven immediately suggests that what is to transpire in that celestial realm will take on the nature of an investigation. It is only *after* the judgment description (vss. 9–10) that reference is made to events that can be seen to carry out the "judgments" or decisions of that tribunal. Thus the heavenly assize described here must be understood to involve the process of reaching those decisions to be acted upon later. In such a context the use of the word "judgment" implies investigation.

The other way to reach a decision would be by random choice. This surely is not the basis upon which God operates His government. As Einstein said, "God does not throw dice." If human courts exercise some care in investigating the subjects brought to their attention before reaching decisions, surely God would exercise even greater care in such matters.

In the second place, this judgment is investigative in nature because of the reference to the opening of the books or scrolls (vs. 10). Regardless of the precise form in which those records are kept, these books or scrolls certainly represent some kind of recordkeeping in heaven. An examination of records of one type or another is thus involved in this judgment. Thus it is evident that this heavenly judgment is investigative in nature.

The use of the phrase, "the judgment sat," implies deliberation, and the reference to the opening of books reinforces its investigative nature. These "books" surely contain the records that are to be examined during the course of the proceedings. The question then is not whether this judgment is investigative in nature, but who is to be investigated thereby?

Character of Little Horn as Object of Investigation

The most transparently direct connection of this judgment is with the little horn, since his dominion is taken away and he is to be destroyed as a result of this judgment

However, the question is, Is this all that is involved in this assize? The question naturally arises because of the description of the little horn and its activities prior to the time of judgment. Is it really necessary to convene a session of the heavenly court just to decide on the character of the little horn? That character is already quite apparent from the description given in the preceding portions of the prophecy. The fourth kingdom is depicted as worse than the three preceding beasts, and the actions of the little horn are characterized as even worse than those of the fourth kingdom, as compared with God and His people.

Given these circumstances identified by the prophet, it seems doubtful that anything more than a cursory investigation into the actions of the little horn should have been necessary. The little horn is already demonstrably evil; the only question to be decided is the manner of its execution. An executive decree from God could have taken care of this without the need for an investigation of the type described here. It would hardly be necessary to open the books to render such a decision.

Thus there does not appear to be any real need for an investigation into the actions of the little torn, since it is self-evident that it has been viciously opposed to God and His people. At the outset, the contrast implies that more is involved in this judgment than just investigating the character of the little horn.

Nature of Little Horn as Object of Investigation

We refer here to those elements in human society that the little horn, as a prophetic symbol, represents. If the horn stands for Antiochus IV, then only a pagan monarch (standing in the line of pagan powers described in this prophecy) is to be dealt with when this judgment convenes.

If, on the other hand, the historicist interpretation of the little horn is adopted, as indicated above, then the matter takes on quite a different complexion. For if the little horn stands for the papacy (as various interpreters in this school of interpretation have held), then this judgment has to deal, among other matters, with a professedly Christian entity.

This symbol has generally been taken to apply to the papacy in particular as the governing head of a religious communion. But that leadership has had millions who have followed its lead. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that any judgment of this professed Christian power would also involve those who have followed and supported its lead.

Thus a judgment of the little horn would appear to involve a judgment of the millions of people who have attempted to follow God through allegiance to this alleged earthly representative of His. Any investigation by this judgment of the little horn should therefore involve an investigation into the cases of those professed Christian individuals who have made up and followed this corporate group.

Since the little horn professes a relationship with God, it is evident that this heavenly judgment is dealing with religious issues rather than secular matters. This fact, therefore, implies that in some manner the heavenly assize will involve all persons (of whatever communion) who profess a relationship with God.

To identify the little horn as the papacy is not to say that the judgment upon those who have followed it will be unfavorable just by the fact that they followed it. Nor does this mean that those outside that religious communion who have professed allegiance to God are automatically classified with the "saints of the Most High," and as a consequence, are entitled to enter the kingdom of God. We may be sure that all classes will be weighed fairly in the impartial balances of this court. The ultimate issue at stake for fairly in the impartial balances of this court. The ultimate issue at stake for all involved relates to the manner in which they have sought to receive salvation. This issue comes to the fore in Daniel 8. Here we do well to heed Jesus' words of warning to all who have taken His name.

"Not every one who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven. On that day many will say to me, 'Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do many mighty works in your name?' And then will I declare to them, 'I never knew you; depart from me, you evildoers' " (Matt 7:21–23).

"Then they also will answer, 'Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison, and did not minister to thee?' Then he will answer them, 'Truly, I say to you, as you did it not to one of the least of these, you did it not to me.' And they will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life" (Matt 25:44–46).

Subjects of the Kingdom as Objects of Investigation

The results of the judgment described in Daniel 7 cut both ways. An unfavorable decision is rendered in the case of the little horn: Its dominion is taken away and it is destroyed (vs. 6). On the other hand, a favorable decision is rendered in behalf of the saints of the Most High: They receive the kingdom (vs. 22).

The preferable translation of the preposition *lāmeḏ* (7:22) is "for," so that the statement regarding the saints reads: "And judgment was given *for* the saints of the Most High." Thus the judgment of the saints is contrasted with the judgment of the horn. It is not that judgment is given "to" the saints (KJV), since that could not happen until they enter God's kingdom.

The term for "judgment" in verse 22 is the same as that used in verses 10 and 26. This indicates that the word "judgment" may be used to refer to the verdicts or decisions of the court as well as to the court session itself.

Although no reference is made to the saints in the initial description of the judgment scene, it is only natural to expect that the ones to whom the kingdom is finally to be given should also be examined. The people of God are accepted for citizenship in the future eternal kingdom as a result of this judgment in their favor. The fact that the saints are given the kingdom as a consequence of this judgment implies that they have been adjudged worthy—through Christ—to be admitted to the eternal kingdom.

God’s People as Objects of Investigation Elsewhere in the OT

In this section a brief comparison will be made between the judgment depicted in Daniel 7 and those judgments described elsewhere in the OT.

Old Testament judgments in general. It is a fact that in the OT judgment passages more attention is directed toward Israel—the professed people of God—than toward the surrounding nations. For example, although Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Daniel’s contemporaries) wrote large sections regarding judgments on the nations (six and eight chapters respectively), it is to be noted that the bulk of their messages consisted of judgments upon God’s people in Judah; that is, upon “the sinners in Zion” (compare Isa 33:14). The same pattern and proportion of attention is consistent through the judgment passages recorded elsewhere in the OT. Thus it would be expected that Daniel’s scene of final judgment would also involve a separation of the false believer from the people of God as well as a judgment upon their enemies.

Old Testament judgments from the sanctuary. When the judgments of God are specifically identified as coming from God’s sanctuary (the earthly tabernacle/temple or heavenly temple), two-thirds of these instances directly involve God’s own professed people. As noted in the chapter on judgment in the OT, 20 of the 28 passages having to do with judgment from God’s sanctuary specifically involved a judgment of God’s people. Since these passages naturally provide the background for the scene in Daniel 7, and since Daniel 7 represents an even greater example of what they have described on a smaller scale, it follows that God’s people will be involved in this ultimate judgment as well.

Old Testament judgment and the books. Another important point has to do with the use of “books” or “scrolls” in the judgment of Daniel 7. God’s book or books in heaven are mentioned six times in the OT.

The first two references come from the account of Moses’ intercession with God on behalf of rebellious Israel at Sinai. Moses pleads with God and requests that his own name be blotted from God’s book if Israel cannot be forgiven (Exod 32:32). God responds by stating that the impenitent sinner would be blotted out of His book (vs. 33). Psalm 69:28 conveys the same idea: The impenitent will be “blotted out of the book of the living” (KJV).

The reference to God’s book in Psalm 139:16 expresses a positive image about it, since God’s intimate knowledge of His followers—including even the physical aspects of their being—are recorded therein. A similar idea is carried into the world of the spiritual experience in Psalm 56:8 where it is the struggles of the righteous that are recorded in that book. “Thou hast kept count of my tossings; put thou my tears in thy bottle! Are they not in thy book?”

An even more positive image of a book of God is conveyed by the reference to the book of remembrance in Malachi 3:16 where the reflections of God’s people upon His goodness to them are recorded.

Thus every reference in the OT to a book of God in heaven is connected in one way or another with God’s people rather than with His enemies. Therefore, these parallels suggest that the books referred to in the judgment scene of Daniel 7 should also have some record of God’s people in them.

New Testament judgment and the books. The same idea is found in the NT as is found in the OT in reference to books. Paul refers to his fellow workers whose names are in the book of life (Phil 4:3). The book of life is mentioned six times in Revelation (3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27). In two instances it is identified as the Lamb’s book of life (13:8; 21:27). Since the book mentioned nine times in chapter 5 is given to the Lamb, it may be best identified as the Lamb’s book of life.

Finally, there are the books of record by which the dead, especially the wicked, are judged according to their deeds at their resurrection at the close of the millennium (20:12). This is the only context in which such books are found in the Bible where they do not relate more directly to God’s people. This judgment is postmillennial, however, and the judgment of Daniel 7 is “premillennial” since it is convened while the little horn is still active on earth.

Whatever one does with these final books of record, the pattern found in the NT is similar to that found in the OT: The book(s) of God in heaven have more to do with God’s people than otherwise. Again, this NT pattern also supports the idea that the books opened in the judgment scene of Daniel 7 involve God’s people.

Summary. The far greater share of the judgment passages in the OT—and specifically those connected with God’s sanctuary—are involved with God’s professed people. Considering the importance to this final judgment in Daniel 7, and considering the fact that this judgment results in the identification of the saints of the Most High as those who receive the kingdom, these parallels suggest that God’s people are also involved in this judgment. If the books of record opened in the judgment scene of Daniel 7 contain only the record of the actions of the little horn, then such a connection is unique to all the biblical references to the function of the book or books of God that are kept in heaven. On the contrary, the parallels to these books elsewhere suggest that the people of God are intimately involved with the outcome of the examination of these books.

God’s People as Objects of Investigation in Daniel 8

We note that an issue similar to that presented in Daniel 7 is also found in Daniel 8, but a new dimension is added to it. In the first place, the issue in both cases involves the people of God, especially as they are persecuted by the little horn. At the outset, therefore, one might expect that the deliverance given to the saints in chapter 8 is related to their deliverance in chapter 7. But the deliverance of the saints in chapter 7 is specifically connected with the scene of judgment where a decision is made in their favor and against the persecuting horn. Therefore, although it is not spelled out as explicitly in chapter 8, one would expect that a judgment similar to the court scene in chapter 7 would come from the sanctuary scene described in chapter 8.

One need not expect each of the succeeding prophecies in Daniel to spell out the previously noted details of earlier visions, if the visions belong to the same prophetic framework. Otherwise, the evident function of the subsequent prophecies as explanations of selected details in the earlier prophecies would be denied.

The basic framework into which the vision of chapter 8 fits its supplementary details is that provided by the prophecy in chapter 7. The relationship between Daniel 7 and 8 is especially close. They were given but two years apart, and both were given in visions involving various symbols. The prophecies of chapters 9 and 10–12 were also given two years apart, but they came a decade later and were given in the form of verbal explanations only, without pictorial symbols.

Given this close relationship between Daniel 7 and 8, the vision of chapter 8 can be seen as a supplement to the vision of chapter 7. Once this visionary framework (Dan 7) had been given, there was no further need to speak in terms of those symbols. That particular part of the picture had been filled out. What was needed now was a further elaboration and explanation of that now-complete picture.

It should also be noted that the supplement (Dan 8) does not deny or alter the content of the primary vision (Dan 7); it only complements it. Where the judgment stands in chapter 7, therefore, it should also be understood as standing in chapter 8. The omission of a description of the judgment scene is not to be construed to mean that it does not belong at its appropriate juncture in the flow of prophetic history in the second vision present in chapter 8.

This *prophetic* parallelism is similar in nature to the way incomplete parallelism was used in Hebrew poetry. The poet did not have to repeat the verb from the first colon in the second colon of a bicolon, because its idea was understood as recurring there even though it was not explicitly expressed. Given the metrical allowance offered to the poet through the use of incomplete parallelism, he was allowed in the second colon to extend the thought of the first in the direction he wished to pursue. This similar relationship of incomplete parallelism has allowed the prophet to expand upon some other aspects of the controversy between the Prince of the host and the little horn in chapter 8 that were not covered in chapter 7, while at the same time retaining the substance of chapter 7.

The particular point at issue in chapter 8 not covered in chapter 7 has to do with the temple and the ministry of its sacrifice. This issue is distinctly religious and goes beyond blasphemy and persecution already described in chapter 7. The plan of salvation is at issue, for it is through the ministry of the sacrifice in the temple that salvation is made available. The little horn has a rival system of salvation set up in opposition to that exercised by the Prince of the host. Thus the differences between the chapters deal with the differences between the realms of the political and religious.

Chapter 7 is more concerned with the political aspect of this controversy: To whom does dominion over the territory of this earth rightly belong? First, it is the little horn that is in control; but then, through the judgment, dominion is given to the Son of man and to the saints of the Most High. The issue in chapter 8, on the other hand, is more religious in nature, for the salvation of the saints is at stake in the controversy between the Prince of the host and the little horn. The religious connotation of the confrontation with the horn in Daniel 8 supplements the political struggle with it in chapter 7. God’s ultimate answer in both instances comes in the final judgment from His sanctuary court in heaven where His host assembled when “the judgment sat” (Dan 7:10).

God’s People As Objects of Investigation in Daniel 12

The principle that the later prophecies of Daniel supplement the earlier ones can also be applied to the prophecy of chapters 11 and 12. In Daniel 7 it was the judgment which decided against the little horn and gave the kingdom to the Son of man. He in turn gave the kingdom to the saints.

The parallel of these events in Daniel 11–12 occurs in this sequence: (1) The “king of the north” comes to his end with none to help him (Dan 11:45); (2) Michael stands up (Dan 12:1); and (3) the deliverance of God’s people takes place; that is, “every one whose name shall be found written in the book” (Dan 12:1). This deliverance is accompanied or followed immediately thereafter by a resurrection (Dan 12:2). Some of those who come up in that resurrection will be given everlasting life; some will only be worthy of everlasting shame and contempt (Dan 12:3).

By comparing the flow of events in both sections, the following parallels may be noted:

1. The “king of the north” comes to his end (Dan 11).
   The little horn is destroyed (Dan 7).
2. Michael stands up (Dan 12)
   The Son of man receives the kingdom (Dan 7)
3. The saints are delivered and resurrected to everlasting life (Dan 12)
   The saints receive an everlasting kingdom (Dan 7).

The similarity of the order and nature of these events suggests that they refer to the same sequence, the latter being a verbal explanation further elaborating upon the former visual demonstration. The parallel position occupied by the Son of man and Michael in these two passages suggests that they should be identified as the same Personage. (For discussion of this point, see the relevant section in the thesis by Arthur Ferch).

A point of interest is that the names of the people to be delivered are written “in the book.” The use of the definite article (the book/scroll) suggests that reference has been made to some particular book about which the reader of Daniel should be familiar. What book? Where does the book come from? Aside from the reference to the scroll containing Jeremiah’s prophecy in Daniel 9:2, the only mention of books in a similar *heavenly* context are those opened at the beginning of the judgment (Dan 7:10).

Since those whose names are written down in this book (Dan 12:1) evidently receive everlasting life along with the righteous who are resurrected, according to the next verse (vs. 2), it seems fair to call this a book of life. One group is given life by deliverance from their enemies (vs. 1), and the other group is given life by virtue of their resurrection (vs. 2). The two groups are obviously identical.

Thus this book “of life” can be seen to function in a manner similar to the books in the judgment scene of Daniel 7. The latter are books of record; out of their examination come those whose names are registered in this book of life. This motif of the book thus forms an envelope or inclusio around the prophecies of the last half of the book of Daniel. The books are examined in the heavenly judgment in the first of these prophecies, and the book of life where the saints are registered appears at the end of the last of these prophecies. It seems reasonable, therefore, to see the latter book (Dan 12) as related to the former books (Dan 7); both are bound up with the judgment described in Daniel 7.

The final note involves the distinction to be made between the two classes of those who are to be resurrected. To make such a distinction between these two classes means that a judgment has taken place. This judgment evidently involved investigating cases and deciding upon respective rewards. Regardless how one applies this passage (whether it denotes a general or a special resurrection), it implies an antecedent investigation into the cases of the people of God before it occurs.

The best context in which to find such an investigation in the book of Daniel is the heavenly court scene of chapter 7. The details added by this parallel passage in Daniel 12 supply further support for identifying that judgment as investigative in character with reference to the professed people of God. Thus the people who are delivered and resurrected after Michael stands up have been adjudged worthy by that heavenly court to enter into everlasting life and to possess the eternal kingdom of the Son of man.

Summary on the Nature of the Judgment in Daniel 7

Six reasons have been presented above as to why the judgment described in Daniel 7 involves an examination of the cases of the professed people of God. While it also involves a decision in the case of the little horn, the evil character of that figure is already evident from the prophecy. Thus the investigation described here must transcend a mere examination of the self-evident nature of the activities of the little horn.

Those who would limit this judgment to a consideration of the little horn (suggesting thereby that the people of God are not investigated in this judgment) have not come fully to grips with the historicist interpretation of the little horn. According to that interpretation the little horn represents a religious communion, especially its leadership, that professes to be Christian in nature. Thus it is only natural that the cases of these professed people of God, both leaders and followers represented by this corporate symbol, will be investigated in any judgment of the little horn. It is evident, therefore, that this is a religious judgment, a judgment dealing with religious issues and human relationships to these matters.

Furthermore, inasmuch as a judgment is rendered in favor of the saints and they receive the kingdom as a result of this judgment, it is only natural to expect such to be examined in this judgment to determine whether through Christ they are worthy to enter into that kingdom. Parallels with judgment passages elsewhere in the OT, especially those connected with the sanctuary, make it likely that this judgment in the heavenly sanctuary also involves the people of God.

The reference to an examination of books in the judgment points in the same direction since, according to both OT and NT references to such books, they are especially kept for the people of God—not for His enemies.

Parallels between Daniel 8 and 7 bring out another dimension of this judgment: that the contest between the Prince of the host and the little horn, over the plan of salvation, will be resolved by this judgment.

Finally, parallels with Daniel 12 suggest that the deliverance that comes to those whose names are written in the book should be seen as a result of the judgment of Daniel 7 in which the books of record were opened. That this involves an investigation into the cases of the professed people of God is supported by the division made between the two classes of those who are resurrected as referred to in Daniel 12.

These lines of evidence indicate that the judgment of Daniel 7:9–10 in heaven is investigative in nature, and that the cases of the people of God are examined during the course of that investigation. The glorious decision rendered by the high court gives dominion, glory, and the kingdom to the Son of man, and His saints will share that kingdom with Him for ever and ever. On the basis of evidence from Daniel 7, this investigative judgment has been dated as beginning sometime after A.D. 1798. The date is established more precisely in the prophecies recorded in Daniel 8 and 9.

Chapter VI

Pictures of Jesus at the Heart of Daniel

Chapter Outline

I. Introduction
II. Daniel 9
III. Daniel 8
IV. Daniel 7
V. Interrelations
VI. Temporal Relationships

Introduction

When we refer to the heart of the book of Daniel, we mean in particular the prophetic chapters. The prophetic sections begin with Nebuchadnezzar's dream in chapter 2 and end with the description of the kings of the north and south in Daniel 11–12. These prophecies, at the two poles of the book, are not our concern just now. The dream given to Nebuchadnezzar is so simple that even a pagan king could understand it, while the detailed and intricate prophecy of chapter 11 is so complex that it is difficult to find two commentators who agree upon it. For these reasons we omit them from our present consideration. This leaves us with the prophecies more centrally located in the book—chapters 7, 8, and 9.

The thesis presented here is that these visions are interrelated in a thematic way. One of the great connecting themes is their several views of the Messiah, prophetic portrayals later fulfilled by Jesus Christ. Thus, at the heart of Daniel we find a series of interrelated pictures of Jesus.

Daniel 9

Our aim is not to deal with the individual details of these prophecies but to concentrate upon what is at their center, their climax, their heart. At the center of the prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27 stands the Messiah. He is the great hub around which this prophecy revolves. According to Gabriel, the angel interpreter, the Jewish people would return to Jerusalem and the land of Judah. They would rebuild their city and temple.

Toward the end of the prophecy, after the appearance and work of the Messiah, the city of Jerusalem and its temple were to be overtaken by disaster once again. The details are discussed in the third volume of the Daniel and Revelation Committee Series.[1]

In concentrating upon the figure of the Messiah, we should look at those specifications of the prophecy that apply especially to Him. These come both in the summary verse of 24 and in the detailed applications of verses 25–27. Logically, we may consider the detailed statements about Him first before looking at those aspects of the summary that apply especially to Him.

Time of Messiah's Appearance

First, verse 25 gives the time when the Messiah would appear. These calculations have been worked out in the detailed study presented in volume 3 alluded to above. The point we make here is simply a broad one: This prophecy foretold the time of the appearance of the Messiah among the people of Judea, and it was fulfilled in detail by Je

name to our kings and our princes, to our fathers and all the people of the land. [7] O Lord, righteousness *belongs* to You, but to us shame of face, as *it is* this day—to the men of Judah, to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and all Israel, those near and those far off in all the countries to which You have driven them,

Messiah's Death

The second great fact of this prophecy, is that the Messiah Prince would be "cut off." This is an idiom that refers to the nature of His death. It indicates two important facts about His death. (1) He would be killed. He would not live out a normal life span and die of natural causes. (2) He would suffer this kind of death at the hands of other persons. The verb is passive. This was fulfilled in the experience of Jesus of Nazareth when He was crucified by the Roman soldiers at Jerusalem in the spring of A.D. 31.

Terminates Sacrificial System

The third fact prophesied about the Messiah is given in verse 27. He would bring the sacrificial system to an end in "the midst of the week." Without going into the detailed calculations found elsewhere, it can be seen that Jesus died in the midst of the seventieth week of this prophecy. The seventieth week extended from A.D. 27 to A.D. 34, placing His death in A.D. 31.

Some might object that Jesus did not end the sacrifices and offerings at that time. In a purely physical sense this is true, for they continued to be offered until the temple was destroyed in A.D. 70. In the religious, spiritual, or theological sense, however, He did indeed bring these sacrifices and offerings to an end in terms of their significance. As the great Antitype of the ceremonial types, Jesus wrapped up, embodied, and fulfilled the sacrificial system that pointed forward to His death in type. This was signified by the rending of the inner veil of the Temple at the time Jesus died on the cross (Matt 27:51).

The Covenant Confirmed

Another statement in verse 27 declares that the Messiah would "make strong" the covenant with many for one week, that is, during that same seventieth week of the prophecy. It was during this time that Jesus personally, then His disciples, amplified and magnified the covenant to the people. As the seventieth and last week of OT times this should apply to the covenant that God had offered, first to Abraham and then through Moses at Sinai.

The nature of this offer and teaching of Jesus is well illustrated in the Sermon on the Mount. There He amplified the Ten Commandments. He magnified them by saying that mere external observance was insufficient; these commandments go down into our very hearts and probe our motives. Regrettably, the Israel of His time did not accept His teaching, and the promised renewal of the covenant (Jer 31:31–34) was made with the church (Matt 26:28).

Summary Passage

From these details of the prophecy we turn to the summary verse—verse 24. Three of the six statements in this verse apply directly to the work of the Messiah. The first is found in verse 24c. The text states that by the end of the 70 week period an atonement would have been made for iniquity. This was not the ongoing round of repeated atonements that characterized the tabernacle and temple (Lev 4–5). Rather, this was *the* one great, final atonement for iniquity. This was what Jesus Christ accomplished with His death upon the cross.

This atonement was to have the ongoing effect described in the next phrase. By making atonement for sin the Messiah would "bring in everlasting righteousness." Here was something beyond the temporary and transitory righteousness of the sacrificial system. Here was a righteousness that has flowed from His death upon the cross and continues to do so now, 2000 years later.

The last phrase of verse 24 also cites a messianic action. It refers to the anointing of a Holy of Holies. A word study of this phrase in the OT indicates that it always is used to refer to a sanctuary. It is never used to designate the person of the Messiah and His anointing. The anointing of the Messiah is referred to directly in His own title, for the word "Messiah" means "anointed one." However, the prophecy is talking about the anointing of a sanctuary for service, along the lines of the anointing of the tabernacle in the wilderness when it was dedicated (Exod 40).

With what sanctuary then are we dealing in this prophecy of Daniel? The tabernacle in the wilderness no longer existed and the first Temple stood in ruins. The prophecy said it would be rebuilt, but it also predicted that it would be destroyed again (vs. 26b). We should look, therefore, for another temple. The Bible knows of only one other temple for the work of the true God: the heavenly temple, discussed in some detail in Hebrews 7–9. It was this temple that went into a new phase of operation with the ascension of Jesus to heaven to become our High Priest. This then was the sanctuary to be anointed by the time the prophecy of Daniel 9:24 came to its end; so it was dedicated at the time of Jesus' ascension in A.D. 31.

We can review the statements of the prophecy of Daniel 9 now in terms of what it said about the Messiah and His work:

1. It foretold the time for the appearing of the Messiah (vs. 25).
2. It foretold that He would be "cut off," that is, killed (vs. 26a).
3. It foretold that He would bring the sacrificial system to an end (vs. 27a).
4. It foretold that He would make a strong offer of the covenant to many people in His teaching and ministry (vs. 27b).
5. It foretold that He would make the great atonement for iniquity (vs. 24c).
6. It foretold that by making this atonement He would bring in everlasting righteousness (vs. 24d).
7. It foretold that a new—even a heavenly—sanctuary would be anointed or dedicated for His work as our high priest (vss. 24–25).

All the specifications of this prophecy with regard to the Messiah were fulfilled in the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth. He becomes its center and focus; all else in it revolves around Him. The list given above can be summarized into one central teaching about Him: He was the great suffering Servant of God who came to give His life as a sacrifice for sin. What lies at the heart of the prophecy of Daniel 9 is the picture of *Jesus as sacrifice*.

Daniel 8

Moving to Daniel 8, we come to a prophecy of a different character. It is a symbolic prophecy involving beast-nations and horns, alongside their symbolic actions. The outline of the first half of the prophecy is relatively straightforward and agreed upon by all commentators. The action begins with the ascendency of the Medo-Persian ram, followed by the Greek goat. The Greek goat's great horn is Alexander, and he is followed by the breakup of his empire into four kingdoms symbolized by the four horns.

Pagan Rome

At this point a new "little" horn comes upon the scene. For historicist commentators this little horn is Rome whose conquests to the east, south, and the glorious land of Judea are described in Daniel 8:9. For interpreters in other prophetic schools this little horn is Antiochus IV Epiphanes. This interpretation has been dealt with in detail in the second chapter of this book, and those materials and conclusions need not be discussed here. We continue on the basis that we are dealing with Rome under this symbol.

Papal Rome

A new phase of Rome begins in verse 11. This new phase is symbolized by actions that introduce the horn's vertical dimension beyond the stellar heaven in contrast with the horizontal conquests it has carried out previously. The symbolic nature of these actions should be stressed. We are not dealing with a literal horn, nor did it literally reach up to heaven. This is a symbol for a human organization that makes an attack upon four objects: (1) the saints of the Most High (by persecution); (2) the sanctuary in heaven that it casts down (this act implies in contrast the elevation of an earthly temple in which the little horn power dwells and functions [compare 2 Thess 3]); (3) an attack upon the "daily" or "continual" (not a single sacrifice as some translators would have it, but a "ministration" that covers all types of activity going on in the heavenly sanctuary); and (4) an attack upon the Prince to whom the sanctuary belongs.

In other words, this prophecy describes a great conflict at its climax. This conflict pits the heavenly Prince against the little horn, a conflict involving nothing less than the plan of salvation. On one hand is the true plan of salvation, ministered by the true heavenly High Priest. On the other hand is an earthly substitute, an earthly priesthood functioning in earthly temples, that would take the eyes of mankind off the true High Priest in His true sanctuary, which God pitched and not man (compare Heb 8:1–2). Who is this great heavenly High Priest, and who is this priestly Prince? None other than Jesus Christ. His priesthood (in this manner) is identified especially in the book of Hebrews, chapters 7–9. And the anointing of His sanctuary in heaven is referred to in the very prophecies of Daniel as discussed above (Dan 9:24–25). So the portrayal of Jesus presented in the prophecy of Daniel 8 is *Jesus as priest*.

Daniel 7

Once again in this great prophecy we have a succession of kingdoms symbolized by a series of beasts. These can be readily identified as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome. The kingdom or empire of Rome was then to break up, as symbolized by the 10 horns upon the head of the Roman beast, and among them would sprout another "little" horn. By a number of characteristics—the same type of work that was done by the little horn in Daniel 8—this little horn can be identified as a Roman horn, the religious phase of that power.

A particular period of time was allotted to the horn for its exercise of power and dominion, a time period specified in verse 25 as 3½ "times" or years. Applying the year-day principle to this time prophecy, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4 of this book, we identify its 1260 years with the Middle or Dark Ages, from A.D. 538 to A.D. 1798.

But God has an answer to all of the beast-kingdoms and horns found in this prophecy. The answer is His judgment. That judgment is described in Daniel 7:9–10, 13–14. Here the prophet looks into the heavenly sanctuary and in verses 9–10 he sees the great heavenly tribunal begin. The Ancient of Days moves to sit upon His throne, placed upon a dais at the commencement of this session. All the angels gather, the court sits in judgment, and the books of record out of which the judgment is to be conducted are opened.

Three important decisions stem from this judgment: (1) The saints of the Most High will go into the heavenly kingdom (Dan 7:27), (2) the little horn and the other beasts and those allied with them and him will be destroyed (Dan 7:11, 22, 26), and (3) the kingship of the eternal kingdom of God is awarded or reaffirmed to the Son of man. This final bestowal of direct and physical rule over the eternal kingdom of God is awarded to the Son of man in the scene of verses 13 and 14. Here is the picture of His being brought before the Ancient of days by a retinue of angels and with the clouds of heaven. Emphatically we are told that His kingdom will include all who will dwell on earth in the future, and this kingdom—in contrast with those that have gone before it—will last for ever and ever. It will never be interrupted or brought to an end.

Who then is this Son of man who receives the eternal kingdom? Jesus took this very title Himself when He said things like, "the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke 19:10). Revelation 14:14 makes this connection explicit with the same title phrased in the same way, in the same context, upon the clouds of heaven, applying it there to the second coming of Jesus. From a New Testament perspective, therefore, there can be no question about who this figure is—it is King Jesus. The picture of Jesus at the heart of the prophecy in Daniel 7 is, therefore, *Jesus as king*.

Interrelations

We have identified three pictures of Jesus at the heart of three prophecies in the heart of the book of Daniel. The picture of Him in Daniel 9 is *Jesus as sacrifice*, the picture of Him that emerges from Daniel 8 is *Jesus as priest*, and the picture of Him found in Daniel 7 is *Jesus as king*.

At this point a question may arise about the order in which these features have been presented. Why are the portrayals presented in the reverse sequence—king, chapter 7; priest, chapter 8; sacrifice, chapter 9—of their actual occurrence (sacrifice, priest, king)?

In part the literary order has to do with the Semitic way of thought. Modern western European way of thought reasons from cause to effect. Ancient Semitic thought, both in the Bible and outside of the Bible, commonly reasoned from effect back to cause. Instead of saying, "You are a sinful, wicked and rebellious people, therefore your land will be destroyed," the biblical prophets could also put the matter the other way around: "Your land will be destroyed." Why? "Because you are a sinful, wicked and rebellious people." A good biblical example of this kind of thought order can be found in Micah 1:10–15 where the cities that mourn for the exiles are listed first, then the cities that gave up exiles follow. We would put the matter the other way around.

Seventh-day Adventists emphasize that the time period of Daniel 9, the 70 weeks, is connected with or cut off from the time period of Daniel 8, the 2300 days. This is working backwards, if you please. What we have in terms of the three pictures of Jesus in these prophecies is the same kind of pattern, although we are dealing in this case with thematic relations, not time.

In these thematic relations one sees their effect when the book is read from the beginning. By the time the reader reaches chapter 7 and encounters the picture of the messianic King, the question is, Who is this Being, and where does He come from? Daniel 8 answers by saying, the King becomes king in part because previously He has been the priest. He is the one who has ministered on behalf of the saints of the Most High; now He can accept them into His kingdom.

But that simply raises another question: How did He qualify as priest? In order to become a priest one had to have something to offer, a sacrifice. Where do we find that? Answer: In Daniel 9. Thus the sacrifice of Daniel 9 enabled the Priest of Daniel 8 to become priest, and the priesthood of the Prince enabled the Prince of chapter 8 to become the king of chapter 7. There is a logical, consistent, and interrelated sequence here that is quite direct and reasonable when we understand that the sequence begins at the end and works backward as far as the literary order of the book is concerned.

Temporal Relationships

Another way to look at this sequence is to relate the pictures of Jesus to the time elements found in these prophecies. It is evident that Daniel 9 is the shortest of the three prophecies because its time span extends for only 70 prophetic weeks or 490 years. The time period of this prophecy, as understood historically, takes us to first century A.D. Roman times when Jesus walked this earth and was crucified under that power.

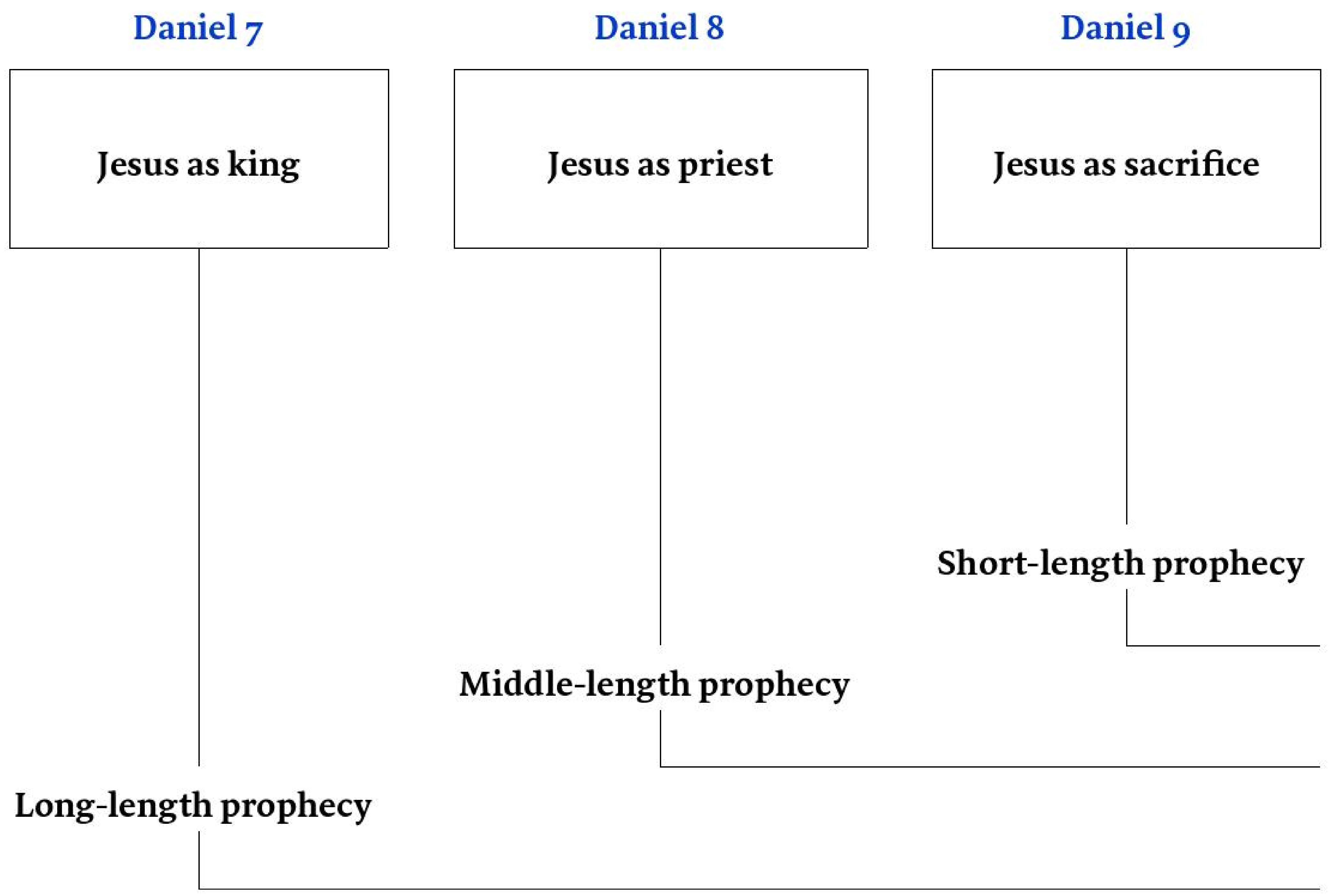
The prophecy in Daniel 8 on the other hand is longer in length, simply by virtue of the fact that its time period extends for 2300 evening-mornings or days, which is the symbolic equivalent of 2300 historical years. This takes us into the Christian Era, through the Middle Ages and beyond, down to relatively recent times, the nineteenth century A.D. This means that the priest of that prophecy has been functioning through a part of that time period (beginning at the ascension in A.D. 31).

At the same time His counterfeit has been active too. But the prophecy of Daniel 8 tells about a time when this will come to an end. It tells about it verbally. Its end is not shown to the prophet in vision. When the visual portion of the prophecy concludes in Daniel 8:12, the little horn is still practicing and prospering.

It should be noted that Daniel 8 does not take the saints of the Most High into the final eternal kingdom. It speaks to the fact that there will be a judgment to bring the bad things of that chapter to an end, but it does not refer directly to the reward of the saints at all. That is reserved for the final prophecy in this backward sequence.

In Daniel 7 we see the final culmination when the King receives His kingdom (vss. 13–14) and the saints are ushered into that eternal realm (vs. 27). This is the longest in length of these three prophecies at the heart of the book of Daniel. Daniel 9 is the short-length prophecy in terms of time, Daniel 8 is the intermediate-length prophecy in terms of time and events, and Daniel 7 is the longest-length prophecy in terms of the events that it describes and concludes upon. All of these relationships can be summarized in a chart-diagram:

Three Pictures of Jesus in the Prophecies at the Heart of Daniel



Chapter VII

Day of Atonement and October 22, 1844

The question has been raised whether October 22 was the correct Gregorian calendar equivalent for the Day of Atonement on 10 Tishri (tenth day of the seventh month in the ancient Jewish calendar) in 1844.

Calculations to ascertain the modern equivalent for an ancient date like this depend upon (1) the projection of that date forward into modern times through mathematical computations, or (2) the survival of the ancient calendrical practice through its continual use by a perpetuated community of persons. The Karaite sect of Jews has sometimes been cited as an example of such a community that (it is assumed) has handed down the ancient Jewish system of calendation as a living tradition.

This assumption about the Karaites is open to question. Some chronographers, E. Bickerman for example, have held that there were periods in their history when the Karaites used a more programmatic calendar, as opposed to one based more directly upon observational factors. This applies in particular to the problem of how the intercalary month was added in periodically to keep the Jewish lunar calendar even with the actual solar year.

When the Millerites set out to establish the correct modern equivalent in the Gregorian calendar for the date of the Day of Atonement on 10 Tishri in 1844, one source of authority which they consulted was the Karaite calendar as it was thought to have preserved the most original calendrical practice among the Jews. This assumption may not have been completely accurate.

Even if the Karaites did retain a more original usage of the ancient Jewish calendar, their practice may still have been adapted or interrupted. It is also possible that the Millerites may not have understood their Karaite sources with perfect clarity. However, regardless of the problems involved in such an approach, the Millerites should still be commended for having made the effort to obtain the most accurate determination of that date that they could arrive at from the sources then available to them.

I do not know how original nor how accurately preserved the Karaite calendrical practices are since I have not studied them in any detail myself. Neither do I know how well the Millerites understood the Karaites. However, I no longer consider the Karaite practice in this regard particularly relevant to the problem.

With the passage of more than a century since the Millerites made their October 22 calculation, more accurate, direct, and ancient contemporary sources have come into our hands. These now enable us to deal with such a determination with more precision. I refer to the results that have come from the work of a number of scholars who have been engaged in research on ancient mathematics and astronomy.

Mathematical computations have produced a complete table of dates for all the new moons of antiquity. These have been correlated with the lunar calendar used in ancient Babylonia through the use of a representative number of datable references to intercalated months in the datelines on Babylonian business documents. Not only do these references indicate the particular years in which the extra month was intercalated, but enough of them are also available with which to establish the mathematical practice by which they were intercalated.

This line of investigation indicates that probably by the sixth century B.C. (and certainly by the fourth century B.C.) the intercalated months were added on a systematic mathematical basis and not on just an ad hoc observational basis.

The end product of this work has been the compilation of tables with the Julian equivalents for the dates of all the new moons in the Babylonian calendar from 626 B.C. to A.D. 75. See the work entitled, *Babylonian Chronology*.[1]

We can therefore bypass the intermediate state of the Karaite calendar in our study of this problem and go to materials that have been derived directly from contemporary texts of the ancient world.

Before this source is consulted for its input into the problem, a basic qualifying question should be asked here. Is it legitimate to utilize a Babylonian source to determine dates in the calendar used by the Jews who lived in Palestine under Persian rule?

It is true that the Persians did employ a different set of month names than those found in the cuneiform texts from Babylonia. These month names appear, for example, in the texts from the time of Darius I that were excavated at Persepolis.

In Babylonia under Persian control, however, the scribes continued to use the normal Babylonian month names, and these month names spread west from there to Palestine where they appear in several postexilic biblical books (Neh 1:1; 2:1; 6:15; Esth 2:16; 3:7; 8:9; Zech 1:7; 7:1) and on to Egypt where they appear in the Persian-Babylonian half of the double datelines of the Elephantine papyri from the fifth century B.C. (the other half gives the date in native Egyptian terms).

While it is technically true that there was a distinction between the native Persian and Babylonian calendars, for practical purposes what we are talking about here is the Babylonian calendar that was in use in Babylonia and its western dependencies during the Persian period. It was under this calendar that the biblical personages like Ezra and Nehemiah and their immediate predecessors lived and worked.

If we were working on the problem of dating Christ's death or some of the other events that took place later in the 70 weeks' prophecy, then our use of this source would have to be qualified to a serious degree. But in this instance—coming as it does at the beginning of the 70 weeks—we are not dealing with Jews who lived in later Palestine. We are dealing with the date when a Persian king gave a decree to the Jewish exile Ezra who lived in Babylonia prior to his journey to Palestine. Thus it is quite legitimate to use the Babylonian calendar for that purpose. The fact that Ezra adapted that calendar to his purposes by dating his New Year on 1 Tishri does not negate the usefulness of the underlying Babylonian scheme as a vehicle with which we can investigate this problem.

Before entering into our calculations we should make a further observation in regard to the effect of the difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars. As a standard convention, historians employ Julian dates for the B.C. period uniformly. The Julian year of 365.25 days is, however, 11 minutes and 4 seconds longer than the true tropical year. By the sixteenth century A.D. the accumulated excess of numbered days over the true solar years elapsed had reached about 10 days.

Pope Gregory XIII decreed that this excess should be compensated for by adding 10 numbered days to the month of October 1582. Thus Friday, October 15, followed Thursday, October 4, in that year. The principal reason for this adjustment was to bring the vernal equinox, and Easter with it, back to March 21 when it had drifted forward—in terms of the Julian calendar—to March 11.[2]

The adjustment required by the Gregorian calendar necessitated a renumbering of the days involved; but it did not affect the order of the days of the week (= rotations of the earth), or the regular astronomical occurrence of new and full moons, or the total number of calendar years elapsed. In the case of the calculations offered below, this difference may be ignored. The reason for this is that we are dealing basically with lunar months and dates for new and full moons, especially those that overlap the autumnal equinox. The calendar revision described above was intended to fix the date of the spring equinox. In accomplishing that purpose it also fixed the dates for the autumnal equinox that, in ancient times, fell in the month of Tishri.

What we really wish to know is, given the total number of 2300 solar years elapsed, how did the new moons of the same months of the years at the beginning and the end of this whole cycle relate to each other?

Since there were three main positions for the moon in terms of the numbered dates of the lunar year in relationship to the solar year (see chart below), it is the position of the new moon and thus the lunar month in relationship to the fall equinox that we are most interested in, not the Gregorian day number assigned to the day of the new moon at that time. The tables employed below, that are based on the Julian calendar, suffice to serve that purpose adequately.

What we want to know, therefore, is when (in terms of the Babylonian system of intercalation) did the month of Tishri start in 458 and 457 B.C.? These are the dates which demarcated the fall-to-fall year during which Artaxerxes I issued his decree and Ezra returned to Jerusalem with his fellow exiles. These dates can be determined by simply looking them up in Parker and Dubberstein's tables. The tables indicate that 1 Tishri in 458 B.C. fell on October 2 and in 457 B.C. on September 21 (p. 32).

These two dates can be related to their corresponding numbers which bounded that fall-to-fall year (1843–1844) in which the 2300 prophetic day-years ended. This can be done mathematically. At this point we are helped by the fact that 235 lunar months have almost exactly the same number of days as 19 solar years.[3] Thus we do not yet need to be concerned with the specific years within this cycle during which intercalations were designated. The Babylonian astronomers were well aware of this 19 year cycle. It provided one of the bases upon which the finer details of those cycles were established and worked out.

For our present purpose we can simply divide the 19 years of this intercalary cycle that was based upon the solar year into the 2300 years of the prophecy. Every 19 years the dates in the lunar calendar repeat themselves. For this reason any multiple of 19 years later would give the same date for 1 Tishri—whether it be in A.D. 1844 or any other year. Nineteen goes into 2300 a total of 121 times with one left over. In other words, 19 × 121 = 2299 with one year left over.

If 19 had divided evenly into 2300, then 1 Tishri would have fallen on the same Babylonian day in 1844 that it did in 458 B.C., but it didn't divide evenly. There was one year left over, and now we have to deal with that left over year. This is done by noting the finer details in the intercalary cycle. In order to do this I have copied below the new moon dates for the first seven months of 459 to 456 B.C. to provide a basis for further discussion of this point:

B.C. Yr.	Nisan	Iyyar	Sivan	Tammuz	Ab	Elul	Tishri	(Position)
459	4–19	5–18	6–17	7–16	8–15	9–13	10–12	A
458	4–8	5–8	6–6	7–6	8–4	9–3	10–2	B
457	3–27	4–26	5–25	6–24	7–24	8–22	9–21	C
456	4–15	5–14	6–13	7–13	8–11	9–10	10–10	A, etc.

As can be seen from a comparison of the dates in these years, the Julian date for the same lunar calendar date basically moved forward 10 days for each of the three years. Then, with the intercalation of a second Adar (a second month (XII) on March 16, 456 B.C. the whole cycle was thrown back a month later in the year, from which point the sequence started over again. For example, the date for the new moon in Nisan 459 B.C. is 4–19. It occurs approximately 10 days earlier the next year (4–8), and still another 10 days earlier the following year of 457 (3–27). But in 456 B.C. the insertion of an intercalary month moves the date for the new moon to 4–15, nearly what it was in 459.

The reason for this advance of the lunar months through the solar year until they were retarded again stems from the fact that 12 lunar months of 29.5 days results in a year of 354 days which is essentially 10 days short of the solar year. The ancients allowed this 10 day deficit to accumulate for three years (resulting in a total of 30 days). They then compensated for this difference by inserting a thirteenth month of 29.5 days (= 30) at the end of that third year. Whether they realize it or not, Christians are familiar with this system through the way the dates for Easter change from year to year.

Unfortunately the deficit compensated for every third year or so was not precisely a third of a lunar month. This mathematical fact produced some irregularity in the pattern of the years in which the additional month was added. This problem need not concern us greatly here for we have the 19 year cycles with which to work over the long haul like the 2300 day-years.

Now we need to decide to which of the three years of the intercalary cycle 1844 belonged. Since there was an excess of one year when the 19-year cycle was divided into the 2300 years, the year at the end of the 2300 years was one year farther down the intercalary cycle than the year at the beginning of the 2300 years. It will be necessary, therefore, to look at the year in which the 2300 years began in terms of which year of the cycle it fell in. The year at the end of the 2300 years, 1844, can be identified as the next year in the cycle.

From the table quoted above we may refer to 459 as the *late year*, or position *A*, because 1 Tishri fell on October 12 (10–12) then. The *intermediate year*, or position 5, is 458 because 1 Tishri fell on October 2 (10–2). The *early year*, or position *C*, is 457 because 1 Tishri fell on September 21 (9–21) of that year.

The year we are interested in fell 2300 years later than the fall-to-fall year of 458/457. The fall-to-fall year of 458/457 was measured by 1 Tishri that fell in *the B* and *C* positions, the intermediate and early positions of October 2 and September 21. The 1 Tishri of the fall-to-fall year 2299 years later fell in these same *B* and *C* positions. But from our division of 19 into 2300 we are interested in the pattern of the next fall-to-fall year because of the one year left over from that division.

This means that we must move one year farther along in the cycle to determine those dates. When we do so, we find that they come out at the *C and A* positions, because after the third or C year, the cycle reverts back to start over again due to the intercalation at the end of the third or *C* year.

To summarize: This means that in the fall of 1843 1 Tishri fell in the C position or around September 21 (9–21). In the spring of 1844—at the end of that Babylonian lunar year—the Babylonians normally would have intercalated a second Adar according to their regular and established mathematical procedure. This means that, in the fall of 1844, 1 Tishri would have been retarded by the intercalary month back to the late or *A* position. The date given for its corresponding number 2300 years earlier is October 10 (10–10). Ten days more to the Day of Atonement on Tishri 10 would thus take us to October 20.

The two-day slippage over the 2300 years has developed from minor mathematical differences and is not statistically significant. This is evident from the fact that the Millerites only had to make a choice between one new moon or the other in 1844: the one for an early Tishri, or the one for a late Tishri. They chose the late one, and that was the correct one when it is figured from the Babylonian lunar year of 458/457 B.C.

If the Karaites did not come up with this date, then they simply differed from the pattern that was in operation during the year when Ezra returned to Jerusalem. There were plenty of opportunities for such a difference to have developed over the years. But we no longer need be concerned with such potential differences because now, with advances in research on ancient astronomy and calendation, we can trace this matter all the way back to its source—the year when Ezra left Babylon. Tracing this trail back that far has indicated that the Millerites did select the correct date for 10 Tishri by dating it to October 22 in A.D. 1844. This point has now been established as definitively as it can be through the study of ancient mathematics and astronomy.

Index

A

Ancient of Days, 116–122, 125–126
Antiochus IV Epiphanes, claims for
analyzed, 31–66
  Daniel 7, 34–42
  Daniel 8, 42–52
  Daniel 9, 52–53
  Daniel 11, 53–63
Atonement, day of (antitype), October 22, 1844, identity, 165–171

B

Books of record (heavenly), and God’s people, 147–149

C

Chiasms, literary (Dan 7), 113–114

D

Daniel, book of, schools of interpretation on, 32
Daniel 7, exegesis of, 115–135 literary structure of, 112–114
Daniel 7, subsequent visions amplify, 39
Daniel 7, temporal relationships, 162–163
Daniel 10, link to Ezekiel 1–10, 22
Darius the Mede, identification of, 35–36

E

Ezekiel (chaps. 1–10), exegesis of, 15–23

G

God’s People, as objects of judgment, 146–153

H

***Ḥāzôn* (vision)**, 96–99
Hebrew thought, reason from effect to cause, 161–162

J

Judgment (Dan 7), analysis of, 111–153
  date of, 135–143
  nature of, 143–153
  parallels to, 1–29
  poetic structure of, 115–143

K

Karaite Calendar, 165–166

L

Literary structures (Daniel), 53–56
Daniel 7, 112–114
Little horn (Dan 8), origin of, 50–52

M

Māḵôn (place), 46–47
Mar’eh (appearance), 97
Messiah, depicted in Daniel, 155–163
king (Dan 7), 160–161
  priest (Dan 8), 159–160
  sacrifice (Dan 9), 156–159

P

Poetry (Dan 7), heavenly scenes described in, 115–135

R

Rîb, covenant lawsuit, 28

S

Sanctuary (Dan 8), identity of, 33
Son of man (Dan 7), 111–113, 122–127, 132–135

T

***Tāmîḏ* (daily)**, 32, 46, 95–96
***Tāw* (Heb. alphabet)**, sagnificance of, Ezekiel 9, 19–20
“Times and law” (Dan 7:25), a hendiadys, 130–131
2300 days, views on, 32–33

W

Weeks (Dan 9), translation issue, 89–92

Y

Year-day principle, biblical basis for, 67–104
  Jewish (early) applications of, 105–110